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NuclearTimes

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE / PEDALING PEACE / A BOMB FOR PAKISTAN

**IS THERE A PEACE CANDIDATE?
DOES IT REALLY MATTER?**





THINKPEACE

A Publication for Brainstorming and Idea-Sharing

Vol. III No. 5

"War begins in the minds of human beings. Since this is so, the minds of human beings must also be capable of ending war."

—Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE *San Francisco Study Group for Peace & Disarmament believes that war and the arms race cannot be abolished without breakthroughs in a science of peace. While holding that present approaches are insufficient to achieve lasting peace and actual disarmament, we believe in the possibility of much better approaches and in the obligation to search for them. To stimulate such a search, to provide a clearing-house of ideas, to help formulate more effective strategies and tactics for the peace movement, are the goals toward which we work.*

Ideas for the Thaw Movement

by David Martinez

Increasing numbers are working to build friendship between the superpowers, believing that radically better relations are the precondition of disarmament and of the long-term prevention of nuclear war. The trend is well-timed. Gorbachev is instituting such changes in Soviet society as can clear the way for unprecedented US/SU intercourse. And if, in spite of Reagan's wriggings, a Euromissile agreement is concluded—and a more enlightened president emerges in 1988—the Gorbachev/post-Reagan period may constitute the soil in which a quite new US/SU relationship can take root.

In order that the Thaw movement may be in high gear by the time more auspicious circumstances arise, we should soon begin exploring the many paths open to us.

Friendship Gesturing

1. Make Washington and Moscow sister cities.
2. Build Peace Monument in or near Red Square; enable Soviets to build one in Washington, DC.
3. In Moscow and/or Leningrad, erect memorial to Soviet WWII dead; enable Soviets to build one (or two) for American WWII dead, in US.
4. Plant peace trees in other country. Trees could come with inscription stones saying

something like, "From the people of the United States (or a certain city) to the people of the Soviet Union, as a token of peace and friendship," and vice-versa.

Cooperative Projects

1. Reforestation of denuded areas in US, SU and world.
2. Preservation of endangered species.
3. More films. *Four Faces*, about WWII, is now in the making.
4. TV programs, series.
5. Establishment of a Peace Day in both countries.
6. Establishment of a US/SU Friendship Day in both countries, and/or a day commemorating the signing of a treaty, e.g., Limited Test Ban Treaty.

Merging

Some people are actually talking about a US/SU Merger. (See Robert Fuller's article "AmerRuss" in *Whole Earth Review*, No. 53, Winter 1986.) While AmerRuss is nowhere on the horizon, we should work toward as much merging as is possible. The main way to go would seem to be through "cross-cutting" groups, clubs, etc., such as:

1. US/SU symphony orchestra—"Friendship Philharmonic."
2. US/SU Peace Corps, especially for Third World.
3. US/SU writers, artists, lawyers, etc., guilds.
4. US/SU singles' dating service or agen-

cy. Assuming this one can be made feasible, it could unify Americans and Soviets faster than anything else!

5. US/SU boys, girls clubs.
6. US/SU WWII Veterans Association.
7. US/SU opera and ballet companies.
8. US/SU Animal Protection Society. A mutual love—of animals, in this case—can create a strong bond between people. Also, a joint APS might enable Americans and Soviets to work together for the rights of sentient beings without running into severe political snags.
9. US/SU Conservation Corps Camps. If young Soviets plant trees and clean up creeks in America—and vice-versa—there will presumably be greater love for, and desire toward preservation of, that land.
10. US/SU sport teams: hockey, soccer, baseball, etc. Teams consisting of both Americans and Soviets would play other teams of like composition.
11. US/SU athletic and game clubs: runners, swimmers, hikers, rowers, chess players, etc.
12. More cross-cutting peace groups like IPPNW (physicians) and the one presently contemplated by lawyers. Groups for educators, computer professionals, scientists, etc.

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NUC TIMES 1/88

BEHIND THE LINES/RICHARD HEALEY

OUT OF THE GATE

SANE/FREEZE HAS FINALLY MERGED, BUT THE BIGGEST CHALLENGES LIE AHEAD

Remember the story about the horse that talked? What was remarkable was not what the horse said but that it talked at all. I thought of that story as I left Washington to attend the first SANE/FREEZE National Congress, held in Cleveland, Ohio, on November 22-24. The congress marked the official merger of the two organizations. I had heard criticism of how long the merger process had taken, or that the new organization will not be as large as some had hoped, but the point is that the merger happened. And it happened with more than 1,000 enthusiastic participants affirming it and the installation of Rev. William Sloane Coffin as the organization's first president.

I have to admit I am not an unbiased observer: I was on the first negotiating committee for the merger. And I am anxious that the new organization succeed. We need at least one grassroots, activist peace organization with hundreds of thousands of members. SANE/FREEZE has a good chance of becoming such an organization.

SANE/FREEZE faces two challenges. The first is organizational. It has to convince local Freeze members they should join and pay dues to the national organization, and convincing them may not be easy. SANE/FREEZE will have to overcome the Freeze's history of indifference or opposition to national-level organization. Even those local groups now hoping for a coherent and powerful national organization have to convince their members they will receive something for their money.

The second challenge is political, a classic question of strategy: how do we transform the system (of U.S. foreign and military policy) while working within the system? In the last six years we have learned how to work effectively within the system. Organizations such as Council for a Livable World and Freeze Voter have become expert at lobbying on arms control legislation or working with candidates. The historic problem for transformative strategies is that it is hard to work effectively within the system without affirming, implicitly or explicitly, the assumptions underlying it. All of which is a fancy way of expressing the grassroots fear that everyone in Washington gets "co-opted" by the system. But that

doesn't have to happen, especially not now.

We are entering a period with dramatic new possibilities for disarmament and for significantly better relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Six years ago the arms control and disarmament community was fighting Ronald Reagan and the far right in opposition to nuclear-war fighting doctrines. Today Reagan is fighting the far right for ratification of the INF Treaty and for deep cuts in the strategic nuclear arsenal, albeit continuing his Cold War rhetoric.

Mikhail Gorbachev is talking about deep cuts in Soviet conventional forces in Eastern Europe and about non-provocative defense. West and East Europeans are taking a fresh look at NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and some are suggesting major changes are possible.

The challenge facing SANE/FREEZE and the rest of our community is to respond to these developments. It may be that we need a division of labor: some organizations will remain more oriented to immediate legislative and electoral opportunities and work more within the system. Others will take a more radical approach. This division of labor, as it develops, should be understood as a friendly and complementary project, not an antagonistic one. We don't need a repeat of the radical versus liberal fights of the 1960s or 1970s.

Judging by the strategy paper adopted at the congress and Coffin's remarks there, SANE/FREEZE is increasingly oriented toward challenging the basic assumptions of U.S. foreign policy and "transforming the system" while still working within it. I am impressed with its willingness to take on that challenge. This time I will be listening to what the horse has to say. □

Nuclear Times Wins Design Award

Last fall, *Magazine Design and Production* gave *Nuclear Times* a bronze "Ozzie" award for best redesign in the association or government category of its first annual design competition. "The new design represents a substantial improvement," the judges wrote. "The magazine shows that you can be a strong advocate in a subdued setting."

LETTERS

Pentagon Propaganda?

That the Soviet Union spends a higher percentage on defense than we do is an exercise for Pentagon propagandists. It should not be in "Back in the U.S.S.R.," [Sept./Oct. 1987].

We have made huge outlays for arms and have denied millions of Americans an improved standard of living. A view of our so-called economic gains shows us a minority improves while a majority suffers. Two families in a clean decent apartment is a better solution than infested hotel/slum housing or street grates. Soviet citizens have needed health care while many Americans find the private price too high, again the minority taking undemocratic advantage of a majority.

Pentagon propaganda has no place in *Nuclear Times*.

Gray Anderson
Bloomington, Indiana

First, the Soviet Union does spend a higher percentage of its GNP on defense. This is not propaganda, it is a fact that illustrates the point that the Soviets cannot afford to continue to funnel huge sums of money into their military sector. Secondly, the article was not about the relationship between U.S. military spending and the U.S. economy, which we have addressed in other articles. And finally, we are not interested in getting into a debate over which of the superpowers has the most economic and social problems.

Don't Touch That Dial

Nuclear times readers intrigued by the possibilities suggested by the Oregon Peace Institute's use of local cable TV to promote peace issues ("Pumping For Peace," Sept./Oct. 1987) might be interested to learn that two alternative media projects based in New York City, Paper Tiger Television and Deep Dish T.V., are successfully raising the same kind of issues on a nationwide basis.

How does mass media distort news and other information? What does a critical reading of popular media sources reveal about society, culture and politics? Both

Paper Tiger Television, a weekly public access program in Manhattan, and Deep Dish T.V., America's first national public access satellite program, explore these and other questions through low-budget, creative programming that seeks to challenge the terms—and myths—of mainstream media. Past programs (150 in all) have examined a number of media issues, including ABC's *Amerika* series, the film *Top Gun*, Nicaraguan press censorship of *La Prensa*, and press coverage of the June 12, 1982 disarmament rally in Central Park.

Nuclear Times readers who would like additional information about obtaining program tapes for their local cable television station or classroom should write: Paper Tiger T.V./ Deep Dish, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012.

John Sanbonmatsu
Astoria, New York

Different Roles

It sounds like many in the arms control and disarmament Directors Forum (see "Making Waves," November/December *Nuclear Times*) are confused about the respective roles of a broad-based citizens movement and a Washington-based congressional lobby. Both play critical roles in changing public policy, but their roles are very different.

Whereas an effective congressional lobby must shape its strategy according to near-term prospects on Capitol Hill, a successful citizens movement has to hold out for more radical changes. The lobbyists have to work within the parameters of what is possible today. A citizens movement that sets its sights on the bigger picture today will move back the parameters of what is possible tomorrow.

If large numbers of citizens had not demanded a complete halt to all aspects of the nuclear arms race in the early 1980s, Congress would not be moving toward a halt to nuclear testing this year. Similarly, if Greenpeace and others now start educating and mobilizing citizens to challenge the illusion of a "stable deterrence," five years from now we may succeed in pressuring Congress to scrap *all* new nuclear-weapon systems, including so-called "stable" nu-

clear submarines like the Trident.

Then and only then, will deep reductions have any meaning.

Randy Kehler
former National Coordinator
Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign
Colrain, Massachusetts

Disarm the Seven Seas

Thanks for Robert Schaeffer's interesting article describing the fiercely mixed Washington reaction to Greenpeace's new campaign to Disarm the Seas.

He failed to mention, however, that although Greenpeace's campaign is bold and innovative within the U.S. arms control community, it is hardly new in the international disarmament movement. A worldwide grassroots network, the International Campaign to Disarm the Seas, has been actively fighting for ocean demilitarization for some years. The international effort is constituted on a regional basis—the North Atlantic Network, the Indian Ocean Demilitarization Campaign, the Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas, and similar efforts in the Mediterranean and Caribbean. Last July, the campaign coordinated hundreds of actions in 15 countries as part of International Disarm the Seas weekend.

It is in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, however—where the U.S. Navy is king—that activists and governments have taken the lead in spotlighting the need for naval nuclear arms control and disarmament. A proposal for an Indian Ocean zone of peace was floated—and taken seriously—a decade ago. New Zealand's 1984 ban on nuclear warship visits followed similar but less-noticed actions in Vanuatu and Fiji. Since 1985, the Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas has worked to stop the deployment of U.S. Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missiles. Even Gorbachev has gotten into the act, offering support for Pacific nuclear-free zones and calling for reductions in Soviet and U.S. fleet activities.

This political context—the reality that our peace movement allies abroad are already working on naval nuclear issues, a fact that should elicit an intelligent response from the American peace community—was missing from your article. Woe-

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fully, it was probably also missing in the meeting you reported on.

Instead, discussion seemed riveted on a dispute over the purported benefit of shipping nukes to sea. Although the deterrence role of submarine-based nuclear weapons remains an important issue for debate, the current naval nuclear arms race has little to do with deterrence. Facing no constraints, the U.S. Navy aims rather to fight protracted and limited nuclear wars, as well as to project power against perceived U.S. adversaries, big and little. Accordingly, the recent naval nuclear build-up is focused primarily on medium-range weapons such as the Tomahawk. On the seas, it's the law of the jungle.

Naval nuclear arms control and disarmament is clearly an idea whose time has come—as our friends in the Pacific and around the world have been telling us. Fortunately, someone at Greenpeace seems to be listening.

Lyuba Zarsky

*Co-Author, American Lake
Nautilus Pacific Action Research
Leverett, Massachusetts*

Deterrence Bankruptcy

I would like to comment briefly on two articles in the November/December issue. First on the "Guns or Butter" article. Although the effect of military spending on inflation or investment may be unclear, its effect on children is stark. Every minute 30 children die for want of food or inexpensive vaccines, and every minute the world's military budget absorbs \$1.3 million of the public treasury. This may not "prove" economic linkage, but it exposes the terrible choice that we make in the name of "national security."

As for the "Making Waves" article, bravo for Greenpeace! Their campaign debunks the doctrine of deterrence. Deterrence has not stopped 110 major wars and 16 million war deaths since World War II. Deterrence has not stopped nations from racing to attain first-strike capability. Deterrence is merely the quiet ripening of holocaust.

Most importantly, deterrence is philosophically bankrupt. The public has lost faith in the doctrine. Reagan played on this feeling when he promised that Star Wars would make deterrence obsolete. The public cheered, for people are weary of ever-present doom. Arms control advocates suddenly found themselves lauding the "safety" of nuclear weapons and deterrence. What a pathetic spectacle that was.

The Star Wars debate revealed the disarmament community's lack of spiritual

foundation. More than clever politics, the movement needs a compelling moral ideal: the vision of a nuclear-free world. The archer must aim high to hit her target. As Emma Rothschild, MIT professor, has written, If we cannot imagine a world without nuclear weapons, then we have already lost. The weapons will have killed our imaginations.

Steven S. Lapham

Durham, North Carolina

The Ultimate Threat

I found your article "The Ultimate Threat to the Environment" in the July/August 1987 issue to be extremely thought-provoking, especially the comments by Robert Alvarez. Alvarez identifies a deficiency in peace and disarmament groups' efforts to end the arms race that can be addressed by environmental groups.

Peace and disarmament groups focus on strategic issues and reflect the debates among U.S. military and nuclear arms experts about the pros and cons of various weapons systems. Campaigns have been directed at various weapons systems, and success is usually defined as limiting totally outrageous proposals for absurd weapons systems. However, they have neglected the environmental consequences of weapons production, transport, testing, and the resultant radioactive waste. Various environmental groups have dealt with the consequences of radioactivity from weapons production and waste, as Alvarez points out, only as local issues. However, the real ecological disasters of the nuclear arms race are far from the backyards of most Americans. The tragedy of those who suffer the consequences of the early atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons—the South Pacific islanders and the people of Utah—is a legacy and a prophecy for all of us if the nuclear arms race continues.

Environmental groups must avoid becoming immersed in arguing the pros and cons of weapons systems, the strategic/military value of these systems, and the political differences between the Soviets and the Americans. Rather, they need to focus on the environmental consequences of the arms race, which is a real environmental threat to humans and every other species of animal and plant on this planet.

Dr. Ingrid Swenson

*North Carolina Center
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Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Write Nuclear Times! Send your comments to Letters, Nuclear Times, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW #300, Washington, DC 20009.

DISPATCHES

WAR ON WAR TOYS HEATS UP

THE WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE recently found some unlikely allies in its two-year campaign against war toys. Elected officials in Los Angeles, Burbank and Santa Monica, California voted late last fall to ban the sale of "replica" toy weapons—toys that look like the real thing.

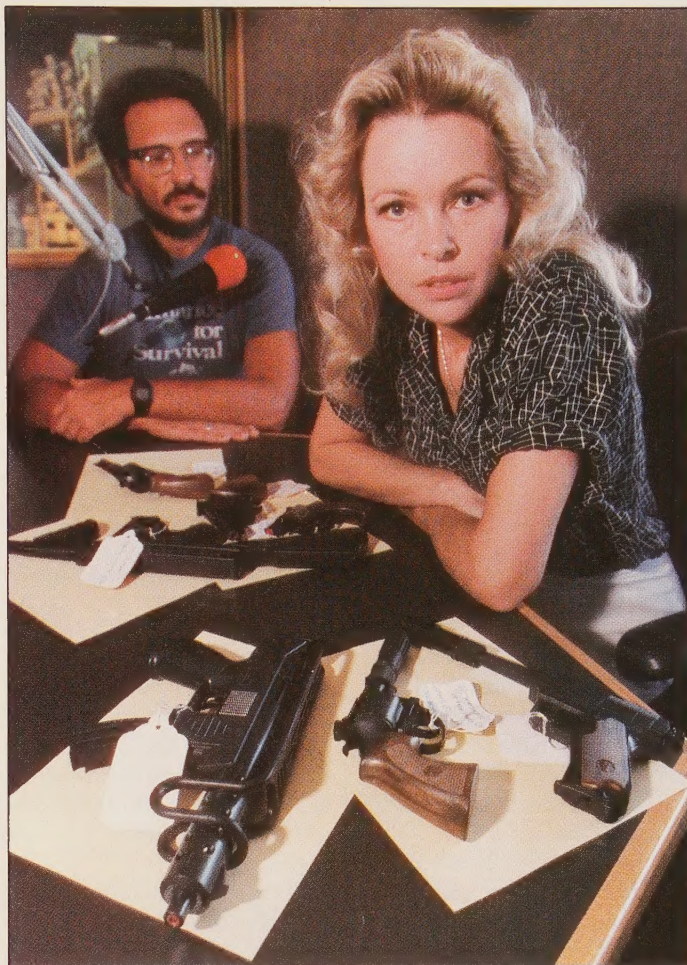
These votes, along with a bill in the California legislature banning replica toy gun sales and one in Congress requiring prominent markings on toy weapons, signal that efforts by anti-war-toy groups have begun to pay off [see "War Toys Are Us," *Nuclear Times* November/December 1987].

Two heavily publicized events in Los Angeles during the past year—combined with a local campaign against war toys—persuaded area city councils to take action.

In April 1987, 19-year-old Leonard Falcon was shot and killed by a sheriff's deputy who mistook Falcon's toy laser gun for an actual weapon. Then, in August, a man wielding a toy gun threatened TV consumer affairs reporter David Horowitz (of the show "Fight Back!") on live television.

Those events helped build support for a campaign spearheaded by the Los Angeles-based Alliance for Survival, which has been working with the War Resisters League.

Jerry Rubin, director of the alliance, had been protesting toy guns for two years—fasting for 50 days last spring, staging a melt-down of war toys, and



Actress Michelle Phillips and Jerry Rubin with replica toy weapons.

demonstrating against the Rambo doll in front of actor Sylvester Stallone's home.

More recently, Rubin joined with Michelle Phillips, star of the "Knots Landing" television show and former singer with the Mamas and the Papas, to hold a rally in which a five-ton steamroller crushed a pile of war toys.

The demonstration, which attracted about 100 people, was held in the Federal Building parking lot in West Los Angeles on November 28 as part of the annual International Days of Protest Against War Toys. For the past three years,

the event has been held on the two days following Thanksgiving, traditionally the biggest shopping days of the year.

"These toys are desensitizing our children to learn that killing and war is just a game," Rubin said at the rally. "These toys are better under there," he added, pointing to the steamroller, "than under our Christmas trees or in the hands of a child who might accidentally be shot by a police officer."

Pat and Barbara MacDonald—the rock duo called Timbuk3—serenaded the crowd with their anti-war-toy song "All I Want for Christ-

mas" to kick off the rally. Then the steamroller driver did his thing, squashing G.I. Joes, Captain Powers, toy Uzi machine guns, tanks and ships.

The event was just one of many held in more than 40 cities across the country.

On November 27, 50 members of the War Resisters League protested outside the headquarters of Coleco Industries, in West Hartford, Connecticut. Coleco recently discontinued its Rambo action toys because of poor sales. But Joanne Sheehan, the co-founder of the Stop War Toys Campaign, pointed out that the company continues to market war toys, including "Star Com," which is featured on a daily cartoon television show, and "U.S. Space Force."

The next day, 85 people attended a rally sponsored by the league and the Mobilization for Survival at Hasbro's headquarters in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. Hasbro is the maker of the lucrative G.I. Joe toy line and Transformers.

Other post-Thanksgiving activities included demonstrations, alternative toy fairs, and leafletting and petitioning outside toy stores in Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Houston, Little Rock, San Francisco, Eugene and Seattle.

Bah Humbug. In a related campaign, about 100 editorial cartoonists, including eight Pulitzer Prize winners, drew anti-war-toy cartoons for their newspapers during December. Bob Staake, the St. Louis-based cartoonist who started the "Cartoonists Bah Humbug War Toys" campaign in 1985, encouraged shoppers to boycott war toys: "These toys are contrary to the spirit of Christmas."
—Elliott Negin



Servicemen on the U.S.S. Peleliu show Palauans military hardware.

PALAU ENDS ATOM- ARMS BAN

IN A HASTILY CALLED referendum on August 4, 71 percent of the voters on Palau, a nation of tiny Pacific islands 600 miles east of the Philippines, agreed to eliminate the anti-nuclear clause in their constitution.

By eliminating this clause, which prohibits nuclear weapons on the islands, voters cleared the way for implementation of a treaty between Palau and the United States granting the United States military land-use rights on Palau for 50 years in return for nearly \$1 billion in economic aid.

Palau's anti-nuclear provision has held up implementation of the Compact of Free Association (CFA), an agreement that will formally end U.S. trusteeship over the Micronesian island group. The

United Nations made the United States a trustee of Micronesia, which is divided into four administrative units, at the end of World War II. U.S. forces captured the islands from the Japanese.

The Palauan constitution and its anti-nuclear clause has been the subject of considerable controversy since it was first adopted in 1979. Supporters of the lucrative U.S.-Palauan compact have asked Palauan voters to alter the constitution in four separate elections and approve the CFA in six different votes since 1979 in an effort to get rid of the anti-nuclear clause, which offends U.S. trustees. The August election marks the first time opponents of the clause have succeeded in convincing a majority of voters to dump the provision and give the United States sweeping military rights.

Prior to the election, pro-compact Palauan President Lazarus Salii curtailed electrical power and water supplies, laid off 900 of the government's

1,331 workers and blamed the economic crisis on failure to pass the compact. Opponents of the compact claimed that fiscal mismanagement led to the crisis.

On June 29, President Salii told *The Los Angeles Times* that the nuclear-free issue was a non-issue in Palau: "Few people here are really concerned about that any more, it's just the outsiders. Three-thousand Paluans live on Guam, where the Americans have a lot of warheads, and they don't care. Palau is part of the planet and this stuff is all around us."

James Orak, a Palauan activist living in the United States, strongly disagrees. In a recent interview Orak said, "We just don't want nuclear weapons on our doorstep. Palauans saw the pending CFA as a threat to the people, and the constitution came about as a protection against possible Pentagon plans to take our scarce, precious Palauan lands."

President Reagan is expected to certify the results of the August vote. But there are still a number of steps that must be taken before U.S. trusteeship is terminated in Palau. Because the vote altered the constitution prior to a general election scheduled for November 1988 and because the compact grants the United States territorial rights prohibited by the Palauan Constitution, the legality of the vote is still unresolved.

After the vote was held, 50 Palauan women "elders" filed suit to challenge the referendum results. Threats of violence and the murder of an anti-compact activist on September 7 forced them to drop the case. Judge Robert Hefner, justice of the Trial Court of the

Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, accepted the decision to withdraw the suit but said there were "indications the dismissal may not be voluntary. . . . The dismissal was brought about by intimidation through the use of violence." Hefner left open the door for the filing of another lawsuit.

Contrary to the U.N. agreement giving the United States the right to act as trustee, President Reagan has unilaterally announced the end to U.S. trusteeship in the three other Micronesian territories. The U.S. Congress, reluctant to consider any new talks with Palau after 16 years of negotiations on a final compact, is waiting for Reagan to confirm that the compact is now in effect. Final termination of the U.S. trusteeship still has to be approved by the United Nations.

But the violence and intimidation that marred the election concerns some members of Congress. Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) told Congress, "That a people may decide for themselves how their constitution should read, how their lands should be used, and how they shall act, is not contrary to, but consistent with, the American commitment to self-determination."

Furthermore, the National Democratic Council of Asian and Pacific Americans recently passed a resolution supporting Palauan self-determination, the Lawyers Committee on Human Rights has been working to challenge the legal issues surrounding the referendum, and the Government Accounting Office is sending an investigator to Palau to determine whether there have been any violations of U.S. law. —Michael Bedford

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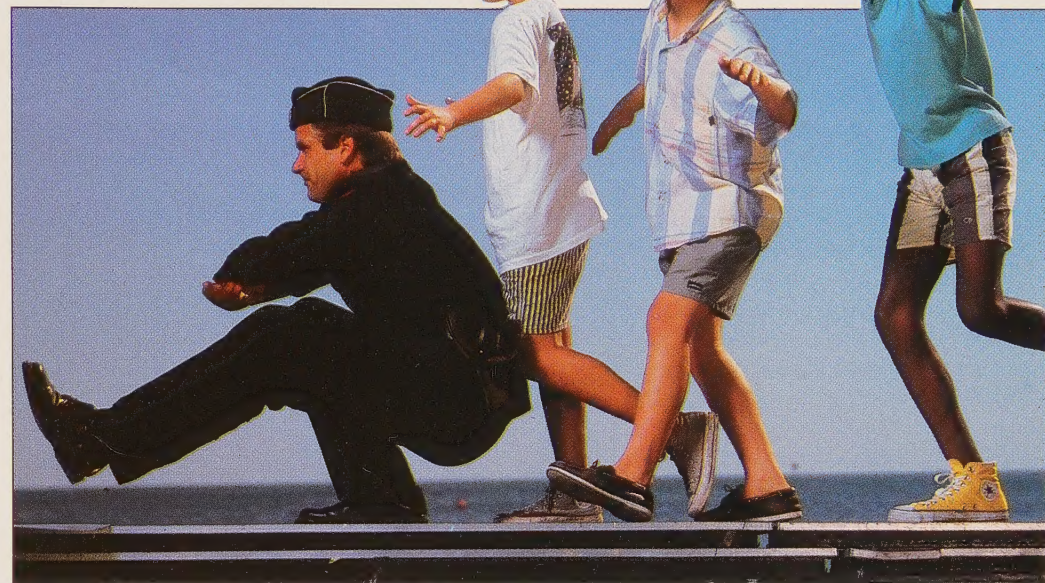
SELLING RUSSKIES

A YEAR AGO, PEACE ACTIVISTS were squirming in their seats at preview screenings of *Amerika*, organized by ABC network executives to defuse mounting criticism of the soon-to-be-aired TV miniseries. More recently, Hollywood has been sending out a different kind of invitation. Late last fall some 8,500 peace groups in New York, Los Angeles, Boston and Washington received a letter from fledgling film distributor New Century/Vista asking for help in promoting its new film *Russkies*.

"*Russkies* is one of those rare film treats," writes Publicity Director Steve Rubin in his promotional pamphlet. "[It] speaks for...friendship and compassion rather than polarization and paranoia. You can help communicate a message that needs to be heard by making this film a big hit.... Tell your friends, announce through meetings and newsletters, and go with your friends and families to see it...."

Aimed at impressionable pubescent boys who play with Rambo dolls, *Russkies* is a détente-lover's answer to *Amerika*. It tells the story of a Russian sailor shipwrecked in Florida who wins the friendship of three American boys—a plot Rubin describes as "closer to the Hardy Boys than the China Syndrome."

Enlisting political interest groups in a film-promotion campaign is an unusual tactic. And with no radiation sickness or infiltrating KGB spies, the PG-rated film diverges from typical nuclear political-culture



Mischa, a stranded Soviet sailor (left), is befriended by three young American boys in *Russkies*.

fare. Even so, the peace movement seemed to be a natural market for the film—and worth trying to tap. "We thought, 'We have a movie with a conscience, why not?'" says Rubin.

The catalyst for New Century/Vista's foray into the anti-nuclear grass roots was Josh Baran, a public relations executive who headed publicity campaigns for the Freeze and *The Day After*. At last spring's "Entertainment Summit," a 10-day conference of Soviet and American entertainment professionals, *Russkies*' producer-directors met Baran, who agreed to help promote their new film. Using direct mail lists and field contacts from veteran anti-nuclear organizer Tim Carpenter, Baran's entertainment division targeted half-a-million peace activists with mailings.

Like critics' reviews of *Russkies*, the response of peace groups to the campaign has been mixed. News of a commercial feature film about Soviet-American friendship didn't

make communications directors jump out of their chairs. So many progressive books, toys and documentaries cross their desks daily that *Russkies* letters simply didn't stand out.

More important, the film's backers were asking peace groups to endorse *Russkies* sight unseen. "From what they sent, I had no idea what the quality was," said Nora Bawe of Peace Links. "You can't give *carte blanche* to something because it's well-intentioned."

Most groups plan to attend the film eventually, but many are still in the process of deciding whether and how to publicize it. Edith Lennarberg, of the New Mexico chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility, complains, "We didn't have enough lead time. We don't like to run things until we've had a discussion."

The overall reaction, however, has been tentative approval. Indeed, Publicity Director Rubin has received a steady stream of inquiries from peace groups.

In some quarters, New Century/Vista's promotional gambit is a definite success. The Unitarian Universalist Peace Network, in Philadelphia, wrote about the film in its newsletter, bringing *Russkies* into the pews of more than 1,000 churches. The New York SANE Council printed the entire *Russkies* promotional letter in its monthly newsletter. And Larry Evans, head of the Pittsburgh chapter of Athletes United for Peace, plans to show *Russkies* at fundraisers for a Soviet pitcher who wants to train with the Pirates baseball team. Evans calls the film "endearing and sensible."

Whether or not *Russkies* becomes a success at the box office, publicist Mickey Cottrell, of Josh Baran's entertainment division, thinks the film is part of a trend. "'We are the World' [the record to benefit Ethiopian famine victims] really detonated something in the hearts of artists," he says, "Now they're reaching out to communicate." —Miranda Spencer

DISPATCHES

CHINA & THE INF TREATY

A U.S.-SOVIET INF TREATY eliminating short- and medium-range missiles in Europe will change the policies of some, but not all, of the other nuclear-armed nations. France has indicated that it will seek a closer nuclear alliance with West Germany as U.S. and Soviet missiles are removed, while Great Britain, Israel and India will probably maintain their current nuclear policies. But it is unclear how China, the only non-European developing country with ICBMs and a strategic "triad" (land-, air- and submarine-based nuclear forces), will respond.

Like the superpowers, China expresses support for disarmament. As Vice Foreign Minister Qian Qichen maintained at the U.N. Regional Conference on Disarmament in Beijing last March, "China stands for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all types of nuclear weapons." This has been China's official position for three decades.

Likewise, the Chinese believe in deterrence, which means maintaining nuclear forces capable of destroying potential enemies. Despite their formidable nuclear arsenal—including missiles capable of reaching Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Central Australia—the Chinese believe that they are held hostage by the superpowers' vastly superior nuclear forces. For this reason they have not signed the non-proliferation and test ban treaties, arguing that these agree-

ments serve only to maintain superpower advantage.

In the past, Chinese officials have argued that the United States and the Soviet Union must reduce their nuclear arsenals by 50 percent before they



Qian: China says no nukes.

will discuss disarmament. They have also insisted that any settlement on the reduction of intermediate-range missiles should provide for "simultaneous and balanced reduction . . . in both Europe and Asia."

The INF agreement, which eliminates intermediate- and short-range missiles in Asia as well as Europe, casts a new light on the Chinese position, since it would meet one of the conditions they have set for entering disarmament talks.

There is some reason to believe that the Chinese have a serious interest in disarmament. The government has been training a small group of nuclear arms control specialists and, in the last three years, it has signed the Outer Space Treaty, the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty, and joined the International Atomic Energy Agency. China has also been emphasizing the need for peaceful international relations to facilitate economic growth.

However, there are also indications that the Chinese are not

waiting around for arms control, but moving quickly to develop more advanced nuclear and conventional weaponry. In June 1987, the country conducted its first underground nuclear test since 1984. The resumption of testing undercut Qian's boast at the disarmament conference two months earlier that "China has not carried out any nuclear test for years," which he said demonstrated "China's sincerity for peace and disarmament and its determination to take concrete steps in this regard."

During the summer and fall of last year the Chinese news service Xinhua announced the development of a "modern, national defense communications network," improvements in China's naval forces, and a reduction in the size of the country's conventional army to free funding for nuclear weapons.

In addition, since 1984 China has been quietly forging closer military links with the United States. The country has been buying U.S. military technology, including artillery shell fuses, torpedoes, and electronic radar and flight control systems for fighter planes.

China's recent moves to bolster its nuclear forces are understandable given the 2,500-mile border it shares with the Soviet Union and Soviet-controlled Mongolia. Regardless of the INF agreement, which will remove 100 Soviet SS-20 Asian theater warheads, the Soviets still have 600,000 troops poised at China's front door. Decreased tensions between the West and the Soviet Union may in turn lead to a thaw between the Soviets and the Chinese, but for the time being, China is taking a "strengthen and see" approach.

—Kari Huus

BLIPS...

PLUTONIUM CHALLENGE Several well-known defense analysts, including former Arms Control and Disarmament Agency director **Paul Warnke** and former CIA director **William Colby**, joined with eight leading environmental and disarmament groups to call for a halt to the production of plutonium and enriched uranium for nuclear weapons. For more information write **Plutonium Challenge**, 313 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002.

WHY NOT "SNEEZE"? SANE/FREEZE, the newly merged group with the ungainly name, is trying to come up with a new moniker. The group sent out a survey late last fall asking recipients to rate 12 possibilities or provide their own. Among those on the list that elicited groans among the NT staff were: CLEAN SLATE, HOMETOWN, ONE PEACE, PEACE POWER! and CONSIDER THE ALTERNATIVES. We're still considering them.

RECENT MOVES Former executive director of Peace Links, **Nina Solarz**, became the executive director of **The Fund for Peace** last November. The Center for Defense Information is one of the fund's projects. Solarz succeeds **James F. Tierney**, who retired after 10 years at the fund.

HYDER UPDATE Charles Hyder, the scientist who fasted for more than seven months for nuclear disarmament, ended his hunger strike last May to run for president. Since then NT has heard nothing about his campaign. □

FAST TALK

PEACENET AND GREENNET COMPUTER NETWORKS
PROVIDE A QUANTUM LINK FOR PEACE GROUPS



IGC Director Mark Graham: The bigger PeaceNet gets the more useful it becomes.

Pace activists in Europe and the United States can now share information at lightning speed using state-of-the-art computer equipment. PeaceNet, which bills itself as "The World's First Computer Network for Peace," recently expanded by linking up with GreenNet, a similar computer network based in England.

All PeaceNet conferences and electronic mail services are now duplicated in a GreenNet facility in London. Information is transferred every hour between the two systems, providing a fast and inexpensive connection. American activists can now share information with people in more than 70 countries.

PeaceNet is a service of the Institute for Global Communications (IGC) in San Francisco. The network has grown rapidly in the year and-a-half since its inception and now has about 300 organizational and 2,000 individual members. This growth, according to IGC Director Mark Graham, makes the system even more valuable. "PeaceNet's power and utility increases dramatically as membership expands," he said. "Peace groups can avoid duplicating effort and use PeaceNet to share ideas that work."

It's Cheap and Quick. SANE/FREEZE was one of the first organizations to use

PeaceNet. Len Newman, SANE/FREEZE's coordinator of computer services swears by it. "We might be able to get along without PeaceNet," he said, "but I sure wouldn't want to try. Our organization has a grassroots focus, and PeaceNet functions as a clearinghouse of ideas for our local chapters. PeaceNet really helps our state and national organizations have significant input from our local chapters.

"We also have a chapter in the United Kingdom that we collaborate with frequently," he added. "We've found that PeaceNet is much cheaper to use for overseas communication than any other means, and it's as quick as Western Union or alternative services."

Many peace groups already use computers for organizational chores such as word processing, accounting, newsletters and mass mailings. In order to utilize PeaceNet, all an organization needs to do is add to its computer a modem and communications software, which together cost between \$100 and \$300. Some smaller groups can share computer resources or persuade a local activist with a computer to be the PeaceNet contact for their local area.

Some organizations use PeaceNet to communicate with geographically dispersed offices and members. Others use the network to distribute information on bul-

letin boards, which are called conferences in computerese. There are more than 200 different conferences on PeaceNet covering issues such as Central America, arms control, nuclear weapons, socially responsible investing, South Africa and Star Wars. The network also maintains general interest conferences for announcements, job openings, action alerts and newsletter and magazine articles.

Additionally, many peace groups use PeaceNet conferences as a wire service to find information and articles for their newsletters.

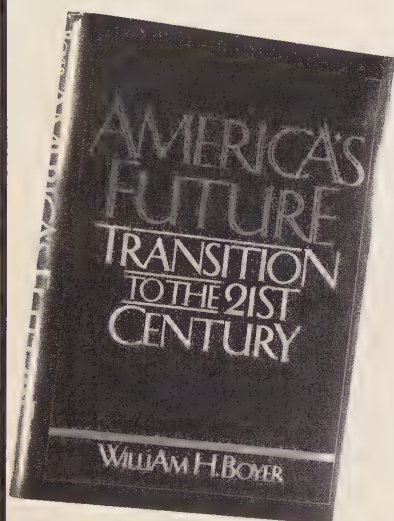
Beyond GreenNet. Besides the recent PeaceNet expansion to Europe, IGC added two other services, EcoNet and the Constituent Express. IGC purchased EcoNet, a computer network for environmental groups and activists, in June 1987. By sharing facilities, the two networks are able to save money and resources and expand their services. PeaceNet and EcoNet users can access and use either network.

Constituent Express is the other new IGC service. PeaceNet subscribers can transmit letters to Congress members, by committee or by state. Constituent Express, which receives the messages via PeaceNet, then hand delivers them to congressional offices the next day. The cost of an initial message is 50 cents, and Constituent Express will deliver the same message to other representatives for only 15 cents per copy. The service can also deliver messages in El Salvador. Activists can use this service, for example, to pressure the Salvadoran government on human rights violations.

For more information contact: Institute for Global Communications, 3228 Sacramento St., San Francisco, CA 94115, (415) 923-0900. Peace groups who want to use computers to communicate through PeaceNet can obtain advice on purchases and training from the Public Interest Computing Association (PICA), 2001 O St. NW, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 775-1588. PICA works exclusively with nonprofit agencies and offers seminars in grant writing for computer equipment. □

Bruce Durward is an intern at Nuclear Times.

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EVIDENCE OF WEAPONS PROGRAM
WILL NOT STOP U.S. AID TO PAKISTAN

The arrest on July 10, 1987 of Arshad Pervez, a Pakistani national charged with attempting to smuggle specialty steel for his country's uranium enrichment program, raised further doubts about Washington's willingness to use the threat of cutting off aid to deter the development of a Pakistani nuclear bomb.

The incident destroyed groundwork carefully prepared by the Reagan administration and Congress over the previous year to ensure passage of a two-year aid package to the Islamabad government. The package would have included nonproliferation language Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) labelled "not only toothless but gumless."

Rep. Stephen Solarz, chairman of a powerful subcommittee that oversees Pakistani aid, was stung by Pakistan's latest violation of U.S. nuclear export control laws. The New York Democrat had played a key role in bucking opposition from a majority of his party members on the House Foreign Affairs Committee to win Pakistan an aid package with the Senate's "hands off" nuclear provisions.

"The change in Solarz was dramatic," observed Leonard Spector, a proliferation expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C. "Solarz took on the liberals [by supporting aid]. He carried a lot of water for Pakistan and then, with these revelations [last summer], they chopped him off at the knees."

According to a well-informed source, Solarz, author of the 1985 amendment requiring the immediate suspension of aid to countries violating U.S. export laws on nuclear weapons material, was promised by Pakistani Foreign Minister Yacoub Khan that Islamabad had placed the United States off limits to its nuclear smuggling operatives. Such assurances are said to have convinced Solarz to lend his support last spring to the administration's aid package, whose key element was a two-year waiver of the Symington-Glenn amendment.

The Symington-Glenn amendment, which was attached to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1977, bars U.S. aid to countries that acquire unsafeguarded nuclear technology or detonate a nuclear device. Pakistan's violation of this amendment triggered an aid cutoff in 1979, but after

the Soviets invaded Afghanistan a few months later, Congress renewed the aid program. This time, however, the package included a Symington-Glenn amendment waiver, which expired last September.

In an influential op-ed article published in *The Washington Post* on March 22, 1987, Solarz made the case for continued military aid to Pakistan. Pakistan, Solarz argued, would never accept safeguards as a price for retaining American aid. And, rather than promote U.S. nonproliferation objectives, an aid cutoff would subvert them. By continuing to supply conventional weapons to Pakistan, Solarz suggested, the United States could keep Pakistan's bomb in the basement. U.S. aid, Solarz contended, is also necessary in order to keep Pakistan from cutting its own deal with Moscow on Afghanistan.

After Arshad Pervez's arrest, Solarz, Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio) and others made a number of demands ranging from a suspension of aid to an international inspection of Pakistan's enrichment plant at Kahuta. This pressured the Reagan administration to fashion a grand compromise to cool congressional passions without insulting Pakistani sovereignty.

All but lost in the debate over military aid is the fact that the smuggling attempt of last summer did not add anything significant to what Congress and the administration already knew about Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. When aid to the regime of Pakistani President Zia ul-Huq was debated in early 1987, ostensible opponents of nuclear proliferation—Solarz and Sens. John Kerry (D-Mass.) and Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.)—voted with their Republican colleagues for aid to Pakistan despite incontestable indications that Islamabad was now a member of the nuclear club.

After the vote approving military aid, Glenn predicted: "First, Pakistan's nuclear weapons program will roll right along, unfettered by any new restraints from Washington. And second, the administration will earnestly maintain that its very, very quiet diplomacy with Pakistan is succeeding in persuading Pakistan to stop its effort to acquire the bomb."

The Reagan administration has followed Glenn's script, and there are strong indica-

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tions that anti-Pakistan breastbeating on Capitol Hill will be short-lived. The struggle of the Afghan guerrillas is dear to President Reagan's heart, and he believes that U.S. military and economic aid plays an important role in keeping Pakistan in step with his policies.

During the winter and spring of 1987, Reagan and the State Department successfully defused concern about Pakistan's nuclear program on Capitol Hill. Although Pakistan would not get the six-year package that the administration requested, it would win a two-year agreement worth more than \$1 billion and a presidential declaration that Pakistan had refrained from producing an atomic bomb. But this compromise, which the administration assumed Congress would pass last fall, was derailed by the arrest of Pervez.

The administration has said it is concerned about the latest smuggling attempt but argues that continued aid to Pakistan is more vital to U.S. security interests than nuclear proliferation on the subcontinent.

The Reagan administration, according to Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, "is looking for concrete evidence of Pakistani nuclear restraint" to defuse calls for an aid cutoff or more strict nonproliferation moves. Such evidence would require more than the kind of statement of Pakistani intentions that Zia sent to Reagan in 1984. In that letter, Zia promised the United States that Pakistan was not enriching uranium beyond 5 percent, the level appropriate for non-military use. Subsequent reports have revealed that the Kahuta facility is producing weapons-grade uranium enriched beyond 90 percent.

One idea currently advanced by Glenn, Solarz and other congressional critics of the Pakistani program is a Pakistani agreement to "de-engineer" Kahuta so that it is incapable of producing weapons-grade uranium. But as Solarz once argued, this option, which would require Pakistan to alter its nuclear program, is certain to be unacceptable to Zia's government.

Just before Undersecretary of State Michael Armacost flew to Islamabad in early August 1987 for a long-planned visit, Glenn introduced a tough resolution that warned of an aid cutoff if nonproliferation safeguards were not in place. However, Glenn's final resolution, co-sponsored by Sens. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) and Gordon Humphrey (R-N.H.), both ardent supporters of aid to Pakistan and the anti-Soviet Afghans, failed to make the point as strongly as Glenn originally intended.

"I have to say with all modesty," crowed Humphrey on the Senate floor on July 31, "that I have secured some changes which

... render the [Glenn] resolution more balanced, more consistent with our national interests."

Regardless, Armacost and his Pakistani counterparts were unable to produce a formula that would satisfy congressional critics of Pakistan's nuclear program.

On September 30, the Symington-Glenn waiver expired and additional aid to Pakistan was suspended. This congressional action is merely symbolic, however, because more than \$500 million remains in the aid pipeline.

As of this writing, Glenn was leading efforts to force onsite inspections of Pakistan's nuclear facilities in return for a six-year aid program. His radical proposal, however, is only one of many possible options available to Congress. Other proposals would permit Pakistan to pursue its nuclear option and continue receiving significant amounts of U.S. aid. It is a bargain that no one in Washington likes, but one that reluctantly recognizes the limits of Washington's unilateral efforts to put Pakistan's nuclear genie back in the bottle. □

Geoffrey Aronson is a visiting fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington.

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Richard K. Betts

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THE TELL-TALE HEART

WHEN THE BODY POLITIC TALKS
POLLSTER STANLEY GREENBERG LISTENS

While most pollsters try to keep their fingers on the pulse of public opinion, Stanley Greenberg listens to its heart. Pollsters generally use random surveys to determine *what* people think about contemporary issues, but surveys do not ask *why*. This is the crucial question for Greenberg, the president of a Washington, D.C.-based research firm called the Analysis Group. His stethoscope is the "focus group"—discussions with small groups of people from the same community (see sidebar, page 16)—with which he probes the public's underlying concerns on military and foreign policy.

Greenberg's research for peace movement, public interest and labor union clients reveals that public attitudes about the U.S. military buildup, the Soviet Union, and national security have changed dramatically in recent years. After listening closely to the body politic, Greenberg argues that "unless the peace movement takes account of these basic changes, it will spend a lot of time spinning its wheels."

For Greenberg, the peace movement must recognize that public opinion has shifted: "The present period, 1987-88, is fundamentally different from the period 1980-84, when the peace movement grew by leaps and bounds. Nuclear issues were important for the public between 1980 and 1984, but they disappeared as a general concern in 1984 and they are not particularly important today."

Why the change?

Greenberg says that to understand changing public attitudes one must look back at the period prior to 1980. Public support for the disarmament movement in the early 1980s, he argues, was rooted in anxieties about U.S. military strength in the late 1970s. Greenberg explains that during the Ford and Carter presidencies, Americans began to feel anxious about declining U.S. "strength" in the world. As the decade wore on, increasing numbers of people be-

gan to view military spending as the way to "strengthen" the U.S. position in the world. "At the end of the Vietnam War [1975], the bottom dropped out of support for military spending. Then there was a slow rise in support for military spending in the late

"In the early 1980s," Greenberg says, "we scared ourselves. Americans wanted military strength and the arms buildup, but they scared themselves in the process and ended up supporting both military strength and ways of controlling it."

Enter the peace movement.

This dual anxiety, together with Reagan administration efforts to "turn against detente and articulate a very hostile view of the Soviet Union," provided the peace movement with the opportunity to mobilize public support for a nuclear freeze and a decrease in defense spending. This activity had a dramatic effect on public opinion. "By 1982," Greenberg says, "public support for defense spending as a way to increase U.S. strength began to drop off. In fact, support plummeted. Now, the level of support for defense spending is once again where it was at the end of the Vietnam war."

The peace movement, Greenberg says, will not be able to recapture the kind of public support it enjoyed from 1980 to 1984. But that may not be so



Stanley Greenberg: Americans see "strength" in economic terms.

1970s, which was due to a rebuilding of 'normal' levels of support."

Then came the Iranian hostage crisis, an event Greenberg says had a "profound" effect: "Support for military spending was growing about 10 percent every few years in the late 1970s, but after the hostage crisis it jumped 30 percent." And then an odd thing happened: "Even before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union became the target of American frustrations with Iran, which was a bit perverse since the Soviets were not a prime actor in the Iranian hostage crisis." This set the stage for Reagan's election, a dramatic military buildup and the administration's nuclear saber-rattling in the early 1980s.

As the military buildup quickened, however, anxieties about perceived U.S. weakness, which in the 1970s were expressed as support for defense spending, began to give way to anxieties about American strength.

bad. Partly as a result of peace movement efforts, public support for defense spending has dropped, the Reagan administration "is struggling to hold onto its military budgets, and negative feelings about the Soviet Union, which were correlated with a fear of nuclear war, have declined."

Trusting the Soviets. Although the change in public attitudes towards the Soviets has not been as dramatic as the change in attitudes towards the Chinese that took place after the United States officially recognized the People's Republic of China, Greenberg says there has been a "warming up of feeling and a decline of fear about nuclear war with the Soviet Union." And in public opinion polls, Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev's favorability rating is more positive [2 to 1] than negative. This compares with some presidential candidates in the United States who have negative favorability ratings.

"In focus groups around the country, we have been struck by how conscious people are of Gorbachev," Greenberg says. "They are very aware of a new kind of leadership. There is a strong feeling that something new is going on there and that you have to watch it pretty closely."

The peace movement can take some credit for changing public attitudes towards the Soviet Union, although Greenberg says the evidence is "fragmentary": "I don't have any numbers to support it, but two things come through in focus groups: First, people value communication for its own sake; they say, 'At least people are talking.' And second, they trust people who look like us."

This second point is "complicated," Greenberg says. "Americans tend to trust people who look like them and act like them. They now view international terrorism—those crazies out there who we don't understand [in part because they don't look or act like us]—as a greater threat than the Soviet Union. People say, 'For all our problems with the Soviets, they still have kids, they want to live, they're stable and we can understand them.' This view helps reduce the level of hostility and reduce the threat of nuclear war, although it doesn't address the problem of hostility towards people who don't look and act like us."

Peace movement tours, exchanges, and anti-Cold War media and education campaigns that attempt to portray the Soviets as similar to Americans have aided this process. But Greenberg says that "one needs a sense of proportion" about this work. He argues that the U.S. anti-apartheid and divestment movement has had "a great effect on what happens in South Africa, but it wouldn't be of any consequence if black South Africans had not mobilized on their own." Greenberg argues that "there's a parallel here. I don't think the process of changing attitudes towards the Soviet Union would go very far without Gorbachev, without a process in which tensions are being reduced overall."

Kids and the Future. Public attitudes are based on contradictory feelings that sometimes change in unexpected ways. In the 1970s Americans expressed their anxiety about U.S. strength by supporting increased defense spending. Now, Greenberg notes, when Americans worry about U.S. strength, they think first of the economy, not the military: "When asked, 'What does it mean to America to be strong?' fewer than 20 percent mentioned the military. Most mentioned the economy. They think that we're being kicked in the pants economically, that we're slipping in the world and that this is humiliating."

In focus groups, Greenberg finds that "there are a lot of anxieties about not being strong. But the anxieties that fueled the defense buildup in the early 1980s now fuel support for an economic buildup."

In much the same way, American hostility towards Iran became expressed as hostility toward the Soviet Union. Greenberg calls this phenomenon "displacement." Deeply rooted anxieties that fuel support for one kind of policy may, at another time, under different circumstances, support a different policy on another issue. Greenberg says it is important to understand how public anxieties shift from one concern to another.

"Star Wars is the one issue that can facilitate new mobilization around nuclear issues."

For instance, people worry about nuclear war. If one talks with them about their fear of war, Greenberg says, one finds that people's fear for the future of their children underlies this anxiety. Recently, Greenberg reports, "there's been a great deal of evidence that this worry [about children and the future] has been displaced to other areas." During the 1986 election "people in focus groups would talk about nuclear war and drugs in the same breath. The same people who worried about nuclear war, particularly women, worried about the drug issue. We found that as concern about drugs rose in importance, interest in nuclear war dropped. The anxieties that underlie people's concern about nuclear war were now being expressed through a different issue."

But just because people channel their anxieties about children and their future into concern about drugs rather than war, this does not mean that the peace movement should forget about nuclear war issues. "Kids and future," Greenberg argues, "are jeopardized by nuclear armaments. We have an obligation to continue work on this. It is an issue that is important to women and middle-income voters, which is a constituency we should not abandon."

The problem is how to work on children and nuclear war issues by addressing the root anxiety. "When people think about the drug issue they worry about school-age children being robbed of their future by drugs," Greenberg says. So he advised candidates in the 1986 election to "talk about nuclear war and drugs as two things that can rob kids of their future. People already

talk about the two issues in the same conversation, so you have to make the linkages plausible and then link yourself in with it. The underlying anxiety is common to both issues, and we should address it."

Star Wars as Waste. Although he believes the peace movement should continue to focus on issues of nuclear war, children and the future, "the problem now is how to build an anti-nuclear movement in a period when American anxieties about the world have dropped, in a period when the arms race no longer seems ascendant."

The answer, Greenberg suggests, is that the movement should take up an issue provided by President Reagan: Star Wars. It is the one issue that can "facilitate new mobilization around nuclear issues."

At present, the Reagan administration can get a majority of the public to back its version of a defensive anti-ballistic missile system. But Greenberg believes that support for Star Wars is weak because most people do not understand it.

"If Star Wars is seen as a defensive and research-oriented system aimed at incoming missiles, most people (75 percent) support it," Greenberg explains. "But if it is seen as a multi-billion dollar project that adds to the deficit, a narrow majority is against it. If it is seen as coming at the expense of spending money on kids and education, 60 percent oppose it. And if it is seen as only a defensive system for military targets, 75 percent oppose it. Because support for Star Wars changes dramatically—swinging from 75 percent support to only 25 percent support depending on how the project is understood—the issue is wide open." And Greenberg thinks the peace movement can explain to the public why it should oppose Star Wars.

Star Wars is vulnerable for another reason, Greenberg says: "The heirs to Ronald Reagan will not be able to sell Star Wars as effectively as Reagan, a visionary who made it plausible. Once stripped of Reagan-supplied idealism, George Bush or Robert Dole will have a more difficult time selling it."

For Greenberg, this means that Star Wars will become an important issue in coming years. "It will be a battle because the Republicans and the right have already begun to fight it. Star Wars is where the budgetary battles are going to take place. It's where the heat is," Greenberg argues. "It is a battle the peace movement should choose to fight because we can fight on terrain that is advantageous to us and because it is an issue we can use to mobilize."

Greenberg believes that the peace movement can use the terrain—existing public
(Continued on page 38)



Is There A Peace Candidate?

BY DONNA EBERWINE

They've been called boring, hard-to-distinguish, lacking stature. Indeed, until scandals forced Joe Biden and Gary Hart out of the race, they were "the seven dwarves." For the peace movement, however, the Democrats are the good guys. Their Republican counterparts think arms control is a four-letter word.

But is there in the 1988 Democratic lineup a "peace candidate"—someone the peace movement can identify with, rally around, and help put in the White House?

"That's the wrong question," says Chip Reynolds, executive director of Freeze Voter. "The question is 'Who are the candidates we can work with to stop the arms race, and what will it take to do that?'"

The view is one shared by many in the peace movement as the campaign season heats up. Leading peace activists say they are shunning the search for a perfect candidate with the "right" stand on everything from Trident II to contra aid. Instead, they are setting what they see as a broader agenda: to keep peace issues alive in elec-

tion-year debates, to promote friendly—if imperfect—candidates while trying to influence their positions, and to lay the groundwork for future progress toward peace no matter which candidate wins.

This approach is in part a response to a more favorable political climate. The election season is coming on the heels of significant victories for the peace movement

For a brief look at the candidates' positions on defense, see page 18

in Congress, including a moratorium on anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons testing, cuts in Star Wars funding, and limits on the administration's ability to depart from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) and SALT II treaties. More important, Ronald Reagan's own negotiations for the INF Treaty with the Soviets have given arms control new respectability.

"Our issues have matured and become more mainstream," says Nancy Donaldson, political director of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND). "Today

the country is behind these issues, not just the peace movement."

That growing national consensus has not fazed the Republican candidates—perhaps in part because polls show arms control, while favored, is low among voters' concerns. But all of the Democrats have responded by adopting what arms control advocates see as basically "good" positions—the major reason few activists are urging that the movement latch onto a single candidate.

"The [Democratic] candidates are so close together on our issues," says Dan Houston, SANE/FREEZE political director, "we want to encourage groups to get involved in all the campaigns." "We're working on as many campaigns as possible," agrees Donaldson.

It is not just the absence of an obvious "peace candidate" that has peace activists pursuing this strategy. "Our goal is for each candidate to have the experience of an ongoing relationship with voters and the progressive community on [peace] issues," says Donaldson, "to have influence now and later on their decision-making."

(Continued on page 20)

Does It Really Matter?



The Democratic doves: Bruce Babbitt, Michael Dukakis, Richard Gephardt, Albert Gore, Jesse Jackson and Paul Simon.

12 on Defense

THE DEMOCRATS

BABBITT: A two-term governor of Arizona during the past decade, Bruce Babbitt has never really been put to the test on arms control. He was, however, among the first governors to refuse President Reagan's request to send National Guard troops to Honduras—a move that in conservative Arizona took courage. Since announcing his run for the oval office, he has gone on record with forceful clarity. "Deep cuts in nuclear arsenals . . . would be among the highest priorities of my presidency," he says. "Cuts of 50 percent would make a strong beginning."

On Star Wars, Babbitt says he's "for stuffing the genie back in the bottle . . . You don't stop one arms race by starting another." He is against the MX missile and supports both the Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) and a ban on ballistic missile flight tests. He opposes ASAT weapons (he says he wouldn't let them off the drawing board), supports continued U.S. compliance with Salt II, and believes a traditional reading of the ABM Treaty is "the only plausible interpretation."

DUKAKIS: As governor of a state with more peace activists per square mile than perhaps any other, Michael Dukakis is no stranger to peace issues. He refused to send Massachusetts' National Guard to play war games in Central America. He also refused to cooperate with federal civil defense planners, arguing "the only defense against

the horrors of nuclear weapons lies in the prevention of nuclear war."

Dukakis says he would cut military spending and fund "star schools" instead of Star Wars. But he has disappointed peace supporters with his plan to beef up conventional forces using funds cut from nuclear weapons. He calls it a "conventional defense initiative."

GEPHARDT: In the past, Rep. Richard Gephardt of Missouri supported the MX, the B-1 bomber and nerve gas. But recently, he has been a key proponent of arms control in the House. He helped push through the CTB, the moratorium on ASAT testing, and cuts in Star Wars funding. He supports compliance with Salt II, says the ABM Treaty has prevented "a dangerous arms race in defensive weapons," and advocates "serious negotiations with the Soviet Union" to end the arms race.

GORE: Sen. Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee is becoming the black sheep of his party on peace issues by staking out a foreign policy position to his rivals' right. He is the only Democrat who opposes a ballistic missile flight test ban. He blames his colleagues for the impression that the Democrats are "against every weapons system that is suggested, and . . . prepared to go into negotiations with the Soviet Union on the basis that we will get something for nothing."

Gore's actual legislative record is mixed. He voted for the MX in return for an administration promise to negotiate with the Soviet Union—a deal critics charge gave the administration a dangerous weapons system in exchange for false promises. His record has otherwise been good—a fact

that prompts skepticism over his new line. He has supported strict adherence to the ABM Treaty, compliance with Salt II, a ban on ASAT testing and the CTB.

JACKSON: True to style, Rev. Jesse Jackson minces no words on nuclear weapons. "Upon becoming president, I would instruct the secretary of defense to dismantle the SDI program," he says. He favors compliance with Salt II "to hold the limit" while negotiating to "bring about true disarmament."

Though Jackson has never held public office, he has rattled administration nerves with his "citizen diplomacy." He has made peace-seeking trips to the Middle East, Central America, and to Geneva to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Jackson supports the CTB, a ballistic missile flight test ban and traditional interpretation of the ABM Treaty. Of ASAT weapons he says: "The arms race should not be extended to the heavens."

SIMON: Illinois Sen. Paul Simon's campaign slogan could be "bow-ties, not bombs." He has been a strong and respected supporter of arms control throughout his 13 years in Congress. "I am proud to have led the very first fight against the MX—alone—in 1980," he says. He was also lead sponsor of a Senate bill banning ASAT tests in space. In 1983, he even co-sponsored legislation allowing taxpayers to withhold part of their taxes from the defense budget.

Simon says that "On Day One" of his administration, he would "challenge the Soviet Union to an immediate, bilateral moratorium on nuclear testing while we begin CTB negotiations for a treaty."



The Republican hawks: George Bush, Robert Dole, Pierre du Pont, Alexander Haig, Jack Kemp and Marion "Pat" Robertson.

THE REPUBLICANS

BUSH: After seven years, George Bush is still playing Tweedledum to Ronald Reagan's Tweedledee. Asked recently about his foreign policy positions, the vice-president responded: "My position is the same as Ronald Reagan's. Write that down." His support of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty puts him in the awkward position of being the most "dovish" of the Republican candidates.

A decorated World War II veteran, Bush has a pre-administration record on military issues that puts him in league with his rivals. As congressman from Texas in the late 1960s, his voting record was 90 percent against arms control.

DOLE: For the right, Robert Dole's record on arms control during his 18 years as Kansas' senator is nearly perfect. He voted against a nuclear test ban and freeze, against an anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons moratorium, for chemical weapons and the MX missile. As Senate minority leader, he led the filibuster against the 1988 defense bill to prevent a vote on preserving traditional interpretation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. And Dole played hard-to-get on the INF Treaty to quiet fears he is a "closet moderate."

Another decorated World War II veteran, Dole believes "there is no higher priority than preserving the promise, and the prospect, of SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative]." He complains that Reagan stuck too long to SALT II's limits. And he likens the Democrats' support of the treaty to Frankenstein's efforts to revive the dead.

DU PONT: "Pete," as he would like voters to know him ("Pierre" being too stuffy), was considered a moderate during his six years in Congress. But in the current race, he is competing with Jack Kemp for farthest-to-the-right in the lineup. As president, he would boost the military's budget to accommodate a wish list of high-tech weapons of dubious worth—among them, cruise missiles with greater mobility and precision. He believes the ABM Treaty should be declared null and void based on "unchallenged evidence" that the Soviets are violating it.

The former Delaware governor says Star Wars "opens... a new era in which we entrust our security to the ingenuity of the American people rather than the integrity of the Soviet government."

HAIG: Alexander Haig's record suggests he could do the kind of damage to arms control and superpower relations that he's done to the English language. As secretary of state (1981-1982), he advocated demonstration blasts of nuclear weapons to intimidate the Soviets. He thinks the INF Treaty is "a step in the wrong direction" and credits its "zero option" proposal to "the West's growing strategic amnesia."

Haig, a retired four-star general and former commander of the U.S. European command, believes, "We must be prepared to show the Soviets that they cannot out-arm us, that they cannot over-awe us, ... that they will be able neither to coerce us nor to defeat us."

KEMP: New York Rep. Jack Kemp's "economese" may be Greek to some, but his foreign policy spiel is crystal clear. He

has made anti-communism and increased military spending major campaign themes, and would like the 1988 presidential election to be a referendum on Star Wars.

This is not just rhetoric. In 1987, Kemp offered an amendment in the House requiring deployment of SDI by 1993. He has voted for the MX, the B-1 bomber, the neutron bomb and lethal nerve gas. He opposes traditional interpretation of the ABM Treaty, compliance with Salt II, a nuclear test ban, and an ASAT moratorium. He calls the INF Treaty "a nuclear Munich that could imperil NATO's future."

ROBERTSON: As a former TV evangelist, Rev. Marion (Pat) Robertson has a somewhat incorporeal record on arms control and has declined to answer inquiries on the subject. But he has made his preference for "tougher" foreign policy clear: "We were irresolute in the face of the Hungarian uprising; confused about Castro; cowardly during construction of the Berlin wall; [and] negotiated out of Vietnam."

Robertson has appropriated Reagan's term "Evil Empire" for the Soviet Union and says as president, he would close Libya's ports with mines. Of the 1986 summit, Robertson said: "I think the president's performance in Reykjavik was magnificent ... being able to walk away from a bad deal is terribly important." —D.E.

Adapted from Nuclear Arms Control and the 1988 Presidential Elections, published by Council for a Liveable World Education Fund and Freeze Voter Education Fund.

On the national level, the strategy means peace leaders are trying to get inside campaigns to influence policy. Donaldson, for example, has volunteered for the Gephardt campaign. She has watched the candidate face strong pressure from advisers concerned with capturing the conservative southern swing vote—expected to be decisive come Super Tuesday on March 8.

"Whenever Gephardt gives a speech on arms control, foreign policy or military reform, there are people [in his campaign] who try to pull him to the right," she says. By "becoming part of the decision-making process," a well-placed peace activist can help keep a friendly candidate on track.

Freeze Voter is urging activists to use election-year debate to give peace issues a boost, by trying to influence the way candidates shape their positions. Given the Democrats' bemoaned lack of distinction, Reynolds believes the moment is ripe.

"This time around we have the opportunity to help define symbols and images that were already defined for us in 1984," says Reynolds. "The challenge is to shape them in a way that benefits the candidates *and* the issues: defining arms control issues so they resonate positively with American voters; redefining the meaning of American strength."

Freeze Voter is drawing on the work of pollster Stanley Greenberg [See "The Tell-Tale Heart," page 15] and others that shows voters today are less afraid of the Soviet Union, less supportive of a military buildup, and more concerned with economic than military strength.

"There's now a strong plurality of the American public that is convinced we cannot continue to increase military spending," says Reynolds. "Large segments of the public are more interested in spending money on domestic needs. The way you talk about this [cuts in military spending] is by pointing out that national security is strengthened by strong education, a strong economy, as well as by maintaining an adequate defense."

If activists in 1988 are less concerned with finding and endorsing a perfect "peace candidate" than with building working relationships with all the Democratic candidates, some say it is a reflection of the peace movement's coming of age.

"The whole movement has gotten more politically sophisticated since the 1984 elections," says Karen Mulhauser, who in December resigned as director of Citizens

Against Nuclear War (CAN) to become more directly involved in electoral politics. Activists who relentlessly dogged the candidates during the last election, Mulhauser says, "marginalized" the peace movement and "contributed to an environment in which a Democrat could not be elected." Now, she says, peace activists are urging each other "to find a candidate who supports your issue and get involved in his campaign and in delegate selection."

While that approach to the 1988 elections is shared widely in the peace movement, it has some observers perplexed.

"If the criterion is who is prepared to take leadership in building a world at peace, it seems to me you have only one choice—and that's [Jesse] Jackson," says Robert Borosage, director of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and an adviser to the Jackson campaign. Jackson's supporters argue he is the only candidate with grassroots origins, making him the peace movement's natural ally. And beyond having the right stands on arms control, they say he has an entire agenda—nonintervention, respect for international law and promotion of human rights—for building world peace. If peace activists do not endorse Jackson, Borosage says, it is because they are pursuing too "technocratic" an agenda—or else they see him as "unelectable" and are "picking a winner rather than [a candidate] who represents them."

Some peace leaders admit their strategy hedges bets on who is likely to win. But their reluctance to throw the peace movement's weight behind any one candidate, they say, has more to do with trying to expand the movement's influence.

While Washington activists—the "beltway insiders"—are working on national campaigns, activists at the local level are sticking to other time-tested methods. Some are running as delegates to the Democratic convention [see sidebar next page]—or trying to influence delegate selection—in hopes that peace activists will have some say when the party drafts its platform. Others are combining grassroots organizing with electoral work, emphasizing voter registration and turnout.

"We're connecting issues that affect people daily—farm issues, social security, medicare—to the need to cut the defense budget," says Linda Stout, director of the Piedmont Peace Project, in Concord, North Carolina. When those connections are drawn, "people vote the right way—you don't have to tell them how to vote."

Local activists are also using traditional "bird-dog" tactics at public candidate fo-

runs, to keep the issues alive and the candidates honest. "It's critical to pin them down on what they're going to do," says Bob Brammer, a founding member of Stop the Arms Race Political Action Committee (STARPAC), in Iowa. "We're very conscious of the difference between saying lots of very nice things and promises that they would undertake upon taking office."

A year ago, STARPAC sent the candidates questionnaires asking their positions on key issues, with questions phrased in what Brammer calls "promise-language form." "We asked them not 'What do you think about a test ban?' but 'Do you pledge a U.S. moratorium on testing and then to proceed to negotiate [with the Soviets]?'"

The early work has satisfied STARPAC that all the Democrats are "locked into" a comprehensive test ban. All but Gore oppose a ban on flight tests of ballistic missiles. And all are on record supporting cuts in Star Wars funding, reductions in the overall military budget, and compliance with SALT II and the ABM Treaty.

Some campaign aides complain that the process has been precisely one of litmus testing—a charge Brammer denies: "Admittedly, people look very carefully at the issues. But a litmus test implies, if you're wrong on one issue—say Trident II—you're off our list. That's not true. Some may have wrong positions, but sometimes their wrong positions are quite sophisticated. If anything, it's a leadership test."

One candidate who has failed that test is Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee. Last September, Gore used a STARPAC-sponsored foreign policy debate to attack his fellow Democrats as being "soft" on defense. It was a calculated gamble to win over the southern swing vote, but it cost the candidate STARPAC's support.

Brammer denies that Gore fell victim to any litmus test: "Gore has been pretty good on most of the issues. But when you exaggerate the differences, call others out of the mainstream, and run away from your own record, that's what we don't like."

Others are not so quick to bristle at the idea that they are too tough on candidates. While national peace leaders argue that all the Democrats are "good" on a handful of issues, some local activists say the candidates don't begin to touch the movement's longer-term goals, such as "deep cuts" in nuclear arsenals, a no first-strike doctrine, or eventual disarmament. While presidential contenders may be unwilling to adopt such policies, some believe grassroots activists should use election-year debates to voice more far-reaching demands.

Randy Kehler, former national coordi-

(Continued on page 25)

Donna Eberwine is an associate editor of Nuclear Times.



Freeze Voter Executive Director Chip Reynolds and consultant Liz Rogon lead a national training session in Washington, D.C. last July.

The Long & Winding Road to Atlanta

So you want to be a delegate? You could be in for the longest civics lesson you'll ever have. Depending on your party and your state, your trip to the convention could take you from a small precinct meeting in someone's living room to a county-level convention, to the state party convention where the final selection is made. Or you could find yourself pounding the pavement collecting hundreds of signatures. And at some point, of course, your candidate has to bestow on you his stamp of approval.

More than 3,000 delegates from 50 states, the District of Columbia and several American territories will be attending the Democratic and Republican National Conventions this summer, and many of them will be peace activists.

All will have mastered the rules of the electoral process. Those rules vary from state to state and for Democrats and Republicans—Democratic Party rules are more complicated, but allow for greater participation by more people. (As there were in 1984, there will be many more black, gay and lower income delegates to the Democratic National Convention than to the Republican Convention.)

Delegates to the Democratic convention are drawn from seven categories: those elected at the congressional district level, at-large delegates, party and elected official add-on delegates, Dem-

ocratic National Committee (DNC) members, members of Congress, Democratic governors and distinguished former elected leaders. More than two-thirds of the total delegates will be elected from congressional districts.

Most delegates will run as part of a slate committed to one presidential candidate. In some states, such as Illinois and Florida, voters cast ballots directly for delegates, and candidates must actively recruit delegates before the primaries to make sure their popularity translates into votes at the convention.

Democratic Party rules require that equal numbers of men and women be selected as delegates and that delegations reflect their state's racial makeup. When candidates put together delegate slates, they often also try to include union members, gays and lesbians, and senior citizens.

Getting to Atlanta (or New Orleans, if you're a Republican) will depend not just on learning the rules, but also on your political savvy. It helps to know which candidates are looking for what kind of delegates. It also helps to know which candidates are likely to win in the state or district you are from. It doesn't make sense to run as a delegate for a conservative Democrat, for example, in a left-liberal enclave. And once you're on a slate, you must make sure your supporters attend caucus meetings or cast their votes on election day.

Fortunately, peace movement groups have organized training programs around the country to help local activists master both the rules and the politics of the 1988 elections. Freeze Voter Education Fund, for example, has sponsored a series of training workshops for activists who want to work on the elections. Its first weekend program was held in Washington, D.C. last July and brought together 60 activists from around the country. They learned the details of becoming delegates—about particular rules in different states and how to use those to their advantage. They also learned ways to work effectively for their favorite candidate: techniques for registering voters, recruiting volunteers, fundraising, canvassing, and getting out the vote on election day.

For the ambitious, workshop leaders also gave tips on using polling data to develop a political message so that it appeals to a target constituency. Other groups, including the Sierra Club and Stop the Arms Race Political Action Committee (STARPA) of Iowa have sponsored similar programs.

In addition to its training workshops, Freeze Voter publishes information on arms control and the elections.

—Christine R. Riddiough

For more information contact: Freeze Voter (202) 783-8747, 733 15th St. NW, Washington, DC 20006.

ACTS OF CONSCIENCE

Civil disobedience springs from the deepest of convictions, but is it a good political strategy?

BY MEL FRIEDMAN

As the munitions train rumbled out the main gate of the Concord Naval Weapons Station near San Francisco, it started to gain speed. Two hundred yards ahead, in plain view of the engine crew, a group of about 50 demonstrators edged closer to the rails and held up signs condemning U.S. intervention in Central America. Three other protesters, including S. Brian Willson, the 46-year-old leader of the group, sat anxiously on the tracks, forming a tiny human barricade. Station authorities had been notified days in advance of Willson's plans and knew minutes before the train pulled out that protesters were on the tracks. Yet somehow, something went horribly wrong.

(Continued on page 26)

Confronting the state police: More than 400 protesters were arrested last February at the U.S. nuclear weapons test site in Nevada. The demonstration, sponsored by American Peace Test, drew 2,000 people, including Hollywood celebrities and six members of Congress.





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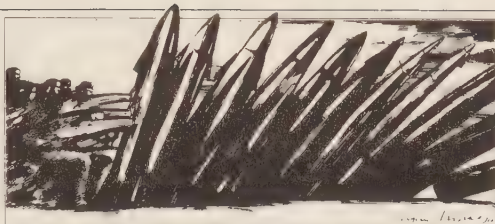
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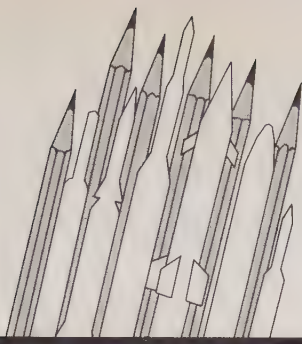
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DEADLINE

**A Bulletin From the Center for War,
Peace, and the News Media**

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1988

VOLUME III, NO. 1

Dateline Moscow

Reporting the Other By Denying the Self

By Robert Karl Manoff

Despite the signing of an INF treaty, it is well to remember that the Cold War, Eighties style, has been maintained by more than missiles. For decades, in fact, the Cold War has been a way of knowing, an organization of rules and norms that has governed our comprehension of the Soviets, our conflict, and ourselves. The Cold War, perhaps above all, has been a cognitive regime.

To understand how this regime has been sustained, we have to start with the problem of "the other," for that is the central question embedded in all discussions of the Russians—who are, as we know, the important other in American culture right now. Despite citizen exchanges, space bridges, and visits of the Leningrad and Bolshoi ballets, American culture—and especially American political culture—has always grasped the Russians as something very different (unlike the French or the British or even the Chinese, those famously delicate, diligent people whose culture was in fashion early in our history as *Chinoiserie*—in contrast to the Russians, who have offered us little, we imagine, but Alaska, caviar, and *matryoshka* dolls).

So it was that ABC's *World News Tonight*, when it journeyed to the Soviet Union to shoot a special series at the time of the Twenty-Seventh Party Congress, found one Scotty Sclocchini, a sixty-five-year-old retired U.S. Army sergeant from South Philly who was living in Siberia with his wife, Lida Maevskaya, whom he had met on a Moscow street corner in 1977. They fell in love and moved to Irkutsk, where, we learned, it was cold and they had no plumbing. But love conquered all. And so it was that the last segment of the ABC series "Inside the Other Side" ended with Scotty still trying, as yet unsuccessfully, to get permission from the authorities to fly the U.S. and Soviet flags side by side over his homestead.

Such was the sentiment. But the reality, we learned from Scotty, was this: "Everything is different here," he said, getting in the last word of the series. "[They're]

born different, they live different, they marry different, they work different, they even die different. They're very different. Everything is different."

Although this was the final note sounded by ABC in its special report from the USSR, it had all begun another way, with Richard Threlkeld, the chief correspondent of *World News Tonight*, reporting from Moscow. "They are proud people like us," he had told his viewers. "Family people—families are the Russians' refuge. . . . And like us they love their kids. [An image of a child appeared on the screen.] You watch a little girl struggling through her reader and you say to yourself, 'That's just like in America.' They might say that, too."

No simple theory of the American media, no simple account of journalistic ideologies or reporting routines, can account for this vision of absolute otherness oscillating with complete identity. The network, it might be said, could not make up its mind about the Russians. Nor, it may not be surprising to discover, can we.

The trouble we have coming to grips with the Russians is but a special case of the trouble we have coming to grips with other people, which is a fundamental human task. The coverage of the Soviet Union in this country's media, as well as the images our leaders project, cannot be understood outside this relationship of self and other, one that has engaged the philosophical tradition at least since the eighteenth century.

It is appropriate to cite the Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin in this context because of the terms in which he stated the proposition. "The very being of man," he said, "is a *profound communication*. To be means to *communicate*. To be means to be for the other, and through him, for oneself. . . . I cannot do without the other; I cannot become myself without the other; I must find myself in the other, finding the other in me (in mutual reflection and perception)." Self and other, that is to say, form a system.

Richard Threlkeld could not have said it better. In fact, Bakhtin's words could well serve as a gloss on everything we think we know about the Soviet Union. The texts and images that provide our knowledge of that country constitute a body of perceptions in which the American self is entangled in a complex process of self-definition in and through the definition of the Soviet other.

Take the Reuters photo that ran in the upper-left

Inside: Forty Ways to Frame the INF Pact and Reporters' Opinions on Arms Control, Part II

corner of the front page of *The New York Times* the day before the Party Congress was due to open in Moscow. It was a banal photo, really, although the *Times* ran it three by five inches and on the same day *The Washington Post* printed it three times that size on the front page of its "World News" section. (See page 3.)

This banal photo communicates neither drama, beauty, nor information. Shot low with a telephoto lens, it silhouettes two lonely figures against the backdrop of two of the onion domes of St. Basil's Cathedral in Red Square. The figure on the left, facing us, is a small boy, perhaps three or four years old, dressed in a heavy coat, big mittens, and a fur hat with the flaps pulled down over his ears. Made almost rigid by his winter clothing, he is holding the handle of a small shovel in one hand, and he is pushing the little snow that he can manage in our direction. At the right of the picture, her back to us and bent into her work, is his mother, also dressed against the weather and also with a shovel, caught by the camera in a posture of effort. MOSCOW PREPARES FOR COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS, read the caption. "A child took snow shovel in hand in Red Square as he accompanied his mother on a sidewalk-clearing mission. A Communist Party Congress begins there tomorrow, the first since Mikhail S. Gorbachev took power. Page A2."

This is a genre photo, of course: It provides coverage of an important event that has not yet occurred, but which people are interested in reading about even

though there is scant information to be had about it. Such a picture images a future event; we need only recall those photos of workmen erecting scaffolding before presidential inaugurations to understand what the genre requires.

Just how much this is a genre photo becomes clear when we reflect on the fact that, Russia being a snowy land and Red Square lying at Moscow's very center, there are likely women sweeping snow from its precincts all winter long. So in the absence of information to the contrary, we might well speculate about whether the connection between the Party Congress and the clearing of the snow was, as the caption implies, a causal one, or a "conventional" one—that is, dictated by the requirements of the preparation-photo genre.

But the photo has meaning beyond the requirements of this genre. First, this is a photo about childhood, about that endearing immobility we impose on our children by bundling them up against the winter cold. Further, anyone who knows young children will immediately recognize this child's urge to undertake the same work as his mother. Second, this is a photo about mother and child, about their bond, for the work he is trying to do is her work, although she is too much preoccupied with her own task to attend to him. Because it is a photo about childhood, we understand the tie that binds them. Because it is a photo about mother and child, we experience what keeps them apart.

Third, it is a photo about the conditions of their life.

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1988

VOL. III, NO. 1

Dateline Moscow: Reporting the Other by Denying the Self

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These are harsh. This photo appeared on a Monday, and we assumed immediately that the work was being done on a Sunday. It is being done, of course, by a woman. Her difficult circumstances are made all the more apparent by the fact that we only see her from behind, her back bent into her work. Her anonymity, her very abstractness as an individual, makes her that much more powerful as a symbol of onerous labor.

Finally, the photo is about what governs the life of this mother and child—the power of the Soviet state (since for most readers the onion domes signify not the Church but the Kremlin). The buildings dwarf the people in the photo; a dome rises between them in the distance, reminding us that it was the state's errand that brought them out in the cold together.

Such interpretive work is accomplished in the blink of an eye and is only possible for "competent readers." They read, as do we all, in order to get the point, and by doing so they have developed an organizing schema for information about the Soviet Union. They are members of an interpretive community, sharing and understanding its cultural and political conventions, stereotypes, and ideologies.

What makes this picture work as political communication for this community is precisely the play of the universal and the particular within it. Insofar as it is a photo about childhood, mother and child, we recognize ourselves and our children in it, and in that measure the picture unites us with its subjects. And yet, simultaneously, insofar as it is about conditions of life and the Soviet state, we recognize that we and our children are most certainly not to be found in this picture, and in that moment of glimpsing difference amidst identity we come to grips, we imagine, with the nature of the Soviet regime. The photo is powerful, in other words, because it puts us in tension, impelling us toward the individuals as abstract incarnations of human universality, but also away from them as concrete subjects of historical, social, and political circumstance.

By doing so, the photo moves to resolve the contradiction upheld by "Inside the Other Side"—Scotty Sclocchini's view that "everything is different" in the USSR, and Richard Threlkeld's that it is "just like in America." It is both, the photo suggests, something we will understand if we extend empathy to the mother and child as persons, but withhold it from them as Soviets.

The Russians, therefore, are a particular "other," and they exist for us in a different perceptual space than have "Indians," "Negroes," and "ladies," all of whom have been grasped by different perceptual strategies in our history. This photo suggests that when it comes to "Russians," at least, an effective strategy is one of "perverse empathy," a way of recognizing the other in his universality but denying the other in his specificity.

Perverse empathy succeeds as a strategy because the photo mobilizes the competent reader's unspoken assumptions about the specifics of American life even as it actually pictures a detail of the Soviets'. In this respect, the picture is typical of print and broadcast reporting on the Soviet Union, which often works by mobiliz-



REUTERS

ing such contrasts. Occasionally, the process is overt. The third segment of "Inside the Other Side," for example, was about Leningrad, and Richard Threlkeld began it this way: "If you're going to make sense of life here in Leningrad, you need some frame of reference, some-place American, some other big city way up north that's learned to make the best of winter." Like Minneapolis, he suggested. Seemingly sensible, the proposition that the road to understanding Russia runs through Minnesota is, on reflection, remarkable.

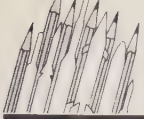
But most often and most insidiously, such comparisons are tacit and of the sort discussed in an earlier *Deadline* article ["What is the Real Message . . . ?" May/June 1986] about the "aura" around the news:

- "There was a willingness to talk about almost any subject," wrote Philip Taubman in his *New York Times* account of a press conference held by Politburo member Geidar A. Aliyev, "but not to challenge basic Soviet values."

- Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov said the economy went into a tailspin after Brezhnev's death, William J. Eaton wrote in the *Los Angeles Times*, but he said so, as Eaton put it, in "the Kremlin tradition of assigning blame to predecessors."

- "We never blame, we criticize," said construction worker Maria Vasilevna after ABC's Betsy Aaron asked her who was to blame for Siberia's polluted rivers. "Spoken as a dedicated Party member," Aaron interjected. "Maria knows the rules: Never criticize the system, criticize the circumstances."

(continued on page 5)



Arms Control Questions for the Campaign Trail

As the press corps intensifies its coverage of the 1988 presidential campaign, *Deadline* asked a group of national security reporters to imagine that they were out on the campaign hustings. *Deadline* wanted to know the specific questions these journalists would ask about the issues they cover so closely. Excerpts from their questions, based on interviews conducted by Michele Flournoy, a senior analyst at the Arms Control Association, appear below.

STROBE TALBOTT

*Washington Bureau Chief
Time*

- We've had two presidents in a row who have come into office with various kinds of romantic nuclear abolitionist ideas. They were, of course, diametrically opposed on many issues—including arms control—but Carter and Reagan did have in common this attachment to the idea of elimination of nuclear weapons. How do you square this circle of ideas?

- How do we get out of the manic-depressive cycle where we lurch from worries about detente to paroxysms of anti-Soviet rhetoric and self-defeating policies?

- For Albert Gore: As you are a proponent of Midgetman, I would note that small mobiles are very expensive and less cost-effective than MIRVed ICBMs. Can we afford them in an era of stringency? They are also harder to verify. What sort of provisions do you have in mind to make it possible to verify a world in which all missiles are mobile? Finally, it is far easier for the Soviets to deploy mobile ICBMs of any kind than it is for us. Does the idea suffer from the flaw of playing into the hands of Soviet strength?

WALTER PINCUS

*National Security Correspondent
The Washington Post*

- Who would you bring into government in the area of arms control and national security? Who would you want to be secretary of defense, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, secretary of state? And would you bring in people with a diversity of opinions? (I'm much more interested in the people that they talk to that are opposite to the way they think. If they surround themselves with people who think exactly the way they do, they'll get themselves in trouble. And for the Democrats, for example, it's to bring in very tough, Richard Perle-like characters.)

- What kind of regime do you want to develop between the United States and the Soviet Union in trying to work out questions about arms control compliance? The Reagan administration has confused compliance by raising issues and dropping them and by turning the

Standing Consultative Commission into a victim of its unhappiness at the way things are going in general between the two nations. Are you interested, really, in working these issues out or are you interested merely in having issues that you can play for political benefit at home?

- President Reagan has defined his vision of a nuclear-free world. How would you define yours? Because nuclear weapons cannot be uninvented, what kind of world should we move toward—realistically? And how do you recommend we work to get there?

DAVID LYNCH

*Associate Editor
Defense Week*

- Even as we're signing the INF treaty to eliminate a number of nuclear weapons from Europe, the services are scheming to come up with programs to put other nuclear weapons back into Europe. Do you think that this is a flaw in the treaty or a flaw in planning?

- Would those of you who support SDI be willing to set limits on nuclear testing? Would you be willing to do away with the SP-100 and the NDEW programs to make SDI a truly nonnuclear system and therefore eliminate SDI as something that drives nuclear testing?

- For Gore: When did you become a hawk? When was it that the white dovish feathers fell off and were replaced with talons and a beak? When did that transformation take place?

- For Michael Dukakis: How are you going to assure, in an era of declining defense budgets, that some massive new Conventional Defense Initiative will be able to compete with existing programs for scarce dollars? What specific programs would you kill—apart from taking \$2 billion out of SDI?

- For Alexander Haig and Jack Kemp: Given that the INF treaty requires asymmetrical reductions in favor of the West and the fact that we are removing missiles that we've only had in place for a few years—missiles without which NATO has survived for decades—why is it a bad idea to go back to the status quo ante?

- For Robert Dole: How have you balanced or reconciled the competing demands of securing the necessary conservative support for the nomination with the demands of keeping the wheels turning in Congress and compromising on issues such as SDI and the ABM treaty that the conservatives are set in concrete on?

NICHOLAS WADE

*Editorial Writer
The New York Times*

- Since we are not going to get absolute verification, what degree of uncertainty would you be prepared to live with in order to reach an INF agreement?

- For Republicans: We have spent \$2 trillion in a defense buildup under Secretary of Defense Weinberger. The money just seems to have disappeared down an enormous sinkhole. What have we gotten for our money? How do you propose to recover from the terribly disruptive budget changes we're going to have?

How would you escape from the legacy the Reagan administration has bequeathed us?

JAMES MCCARTNEY

*Senior National Correspondent
The Philadelphia Inquirer*

- Do you agree with the Reagan administration's fetish with compliance with arms control agreements? Do you agree with their assertions that the Soviets have consistently and systematically violated the terms of arms control agreements?

- Where do you stand on President Carter's achievement of SALT II, which the Reagan administration has refused to send to the Senate for ratification? If elected, would you send the treaty to the Senate for ratification? Would you require Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan before doing so?

WARREN STROBEL

*National Security Correspondent
The Washington Times*

- What needs to be done in our military space programs—not only on SDI but on antisatellite weapons, military satellites, reconnaissance satellites? Do you

favor continuing the moratorium on ASAT testing? Do you think that the Soviet ASAT program is much of a military threat?

- For Haig: Will the INF treaty bring about the dissolution of NATO or some kind of fundamental change in the NATO organization?

- For Pete du Pont: Do you compare yourself with Reagan on defense issues? In what ways do you differ? What portions of U.S. forces need beefing up? What can we get rid of? What research programs are critical? Which could be gotten rid of?

BARRY SCHWEID

*State Department Correspondent
The Associated Press*

- The Soviets voluntarily suspended nuclear testing, and their offer to the U.S. to join in the moratorium was turned down. Would you welcome another opportunity to ban nuclear tests?

- Do you subscribe to the administration's argument that underground nuclear testing is necessary to ensure the reliability and the safety—which is, of course, an anomaly—of nuclear weapons, or do you believe as some experts do that weapons can be kept up-to-date without underground testing? □

Reporting the Other

(continued from page 3)

Each of these remarks was in fact a gloss on the news it accompanied. Each could stand with no explanation because it mobilized assumptions about Soviet life. And each assumption about the Russians had force because it implied a contrast to tacit beliefs about Americans. The nature of such beliefs about American life might become clear if readers were to interrogate the texts. They might ask Taubman of *The New York Times*, who observed that a high Soviet official did not challenge basic Soviet values: When has an American done the equivalent, and kept his job? They might ask Eaton of the *Los Angeles Times*, who viewed criticism of predecessors as a Kremlin tradition: What is President Reagan doing when he faults previous administrations for weakening the country's strategic forces? Or they might ask ABC's Aaron, since she found it a Party rule to criticize only circumstances: Is it really the American way to criticize the system?

Such news texts are in fact moral tales. They question the claims and challenge the accomplishments of the Soviet system in order to demonstrate, most often indirectly, the superiority of the American one. To do so, however, they must depend on readers' suppression of their own knowledge about their country. Readers of such tales, that is, are compelled by them to suspend their understanding of their own condition lest they find themselves outside the interpretive community that appreciates them—perceptual exiles within their own country. Suppression of the understanding of one's own

condition is therefore both a precondition for reading such reporting on the Soviet Union and a further consequence of having done so.

It goes without saying that a system of journalism operating in this fashion cannot really succeed in informing us about its putative object, and that despite the intentions of those, such as reporters, who take part in it, the system's rhetorical strategies and textual politics are such that it cannot, in fact, produce true knowledge of the Soviet Union. Meant to reveal the truth about the Soviet system, such journalism instead perpetuates myths about the American one. More significant than what we learn about the Russians is what we do not permit ourselves to learn about ourselves.

The Cold War, in other words, fosters a form of cognitive denial among the American people. Perceiving themselves as locked in a struggle with the Soviet enemy, Americans sense that they must constantly repeat the little moral tales with which the news affirms the superiority of what we already are, and therefore the lack of necessity to consider how we might become something better. Americans, in other words, would remake the future of that other country, but somehow foreclose our own. For those with different visions of America, it is therefore essential to remember that the road to Washington, figuratively speaking, does indeed run straight through the center of Moscow. □

ROBERT KARL MANOFF is co-director of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media. This article is based on a speech delivered to a conference organized by the Institute for Peace and International Security.

Human Rights Reporting: Letting Nations Off the Hook

By Miranda Spencer

When Amnesty International, the private human rights organization, released its annual report cataloging the status of human rights in 129 nations last September, the London-based, Nobel Prize-winning group provided the media with detailed information and a convenient angle for coverage of its grisly findings. Besides making available a 400-page report, Amnesty staged press conferences in New York, Los Angeles, and Washington and blanketed the national and local media with an assortment of press materials. The story was picked up by the three major wire services in London, providing news organizations that did not send a reporter with enough direct information to run a story if they chose.

According to Amnesty's media advisory, the most critical aspect of the story was that serious violations of human rights persist in four-fifths of the world's nations and in every type of political system. The report did not evaluate one country's human rights record against another's. As the report's introduction pointed out, Amnesty International "does not and cannot" compare human rights records of different countries. "Comparisons of governments' human rights practices can be manipulated for political ends." Despite Amnesty's best efforts, however, this message was lost on much of the news media.

Attention to Amnesty's findings varied greatly. But, overall, the report was not considered news by much of the news media. Several newspapers, including *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Times*, did not cover the report. *The Washington Post*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, and *USA Today* covered it only with

The New York Times chose a don't-trust-glasnost hook in its sparse coverage of the Amnesty report.

the briefest of wire dispatches. The three network evening news programs, as well as the three newsweeklies, uniformly ignored the Amnesty report.

Those newspapers that did cover it generally looked for a more charged news hook than the one provided by the human rights group. Several news organizations opted for the most obvious peg for an American audience, focusing on the many human rights violations in the Soviet Union or on nations out of favor with the current administration. A favorite hook contrasted Soviet crimes reported by Amnesty with the official Soviet policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*. In other

instances, the report was pegged to current events in nations of special interest to readers in a particular region.

The Soviet Hook

The New York Times chose a don't-trust-glasnost hook in the nine column inches it published on the Amnesty International report. The first mention appeared on page one on September 30 in the form of a one-sentence editorial tease that singled out the Soviet Union for its human rights violations and contrasted its human rights record with official Soviet policies of internal reform. The actual story, an unsigned Reuters dispatch, pursued the same theme under the headline GROUP ASSAILS SOVIET ON INMATES: "Soviet political prisoners face harsh treatment and grueling labor in camps and jails despite social changes instituted under Mikhail S. Gorbachev." Elsewhere in the story, the newspaper minimized the significance of the release of dissident Andrei Sakharov by implying that its major purpose was to improve Soviet public relations. "The group said . . . Moscow showed a more 'liberal' face to the West by ending the internal exile of . . . Sakharov." The actual reference to Sakharov in the Amnesty report, however, reported his release without editorial judgment: "At least twelve prisoners of conscience were unconditionally released in 1986 . . .," the report said, "[including] Academician Andrei Sakharov." Amnesty's discussion of reform in the USSR was also considerably more complex than the *Times*'s paraphrase reported. On the one hand, the group reported that despite glasnost, "individuals who communicated uncensored information on controversial topics faced imprisonment under laws restricting freedom of expression." On the other hand, however, the group offered the considerably more benign description that "the Soviet news media gave unusually frank coverage to social and political issues in what was described as a campaign for glasnost."

U.S. problems cited in the Amnesty report were also noted briefly in the article, although a reference to Leonard Peltier, the imprisoned Native American, was set in a superpower context. "The report also said a retrial had been denied in the case of an American Indian, Leonard Peltier," the *Times*'s article read, describing Peltier as a figure "who has been cited in official Soviet commentaries as an example of political repression."

In *The Christian Science Monitor*, which accorded the Amnesty report three column inches in a day-after news story, only the USSR was singled out as an offender of human rights. National Public Radio mentioned the Amnesty report several times on its *Morning Edition* broadcast of September 30. On one occasion, discussion of the report began with an uninflected lead. But this served as little more than a convenient segue for a commentary that focused on human rights abuses in the USSR. In fact, although the piece by Soviet émigré Alexander Amerisov supported Amnesty's findings, it wasn't prepared with the group's report in mind. "I prepared the commentary separately," says Amerisov, who

disputed claims that there have been recent improvements in the Soviet practice of imprisoning dissidents in mental hospitals. But the positioning of the commentary created the impression that the group's findings stressed Soviet human rights abuses over those in other nations.

Several local newspapers also embraced a Soviet hook on their editorial pages, notable among them the *Times* of Gadsden, Alabama. "Much has been made of

At *The Miami Herald*, cheek by jowl with Cuba, the emphasis was on Fidel Castro.

the sweeping social changes instituted in the Soviet Union," said the editors. "Too much, in fact. Despite what the Western world has been led to believe, life behind the curtain doubtless remains fairly close to what it's been all along." The piece ran under the headline MEANWHILE, BACK AT THE GULAG.

Other Hooks

Some media spurned the Soviet hook but succumbed, nevertheless, to the temptation to peg the Amnesty report to crimes in one nation, usually one of particular interest to local readers. At *The Miami Herald*, cheek by jowl with Cuba, the emphasis was on Fidel Castro. That paper's only coverage of the Amnesty report was an editorial attack on Florida's Caribbean neighbor. "Fidel Castro probably thought the world was so busy watching his Sandinista comrades cope with a peace plan in Central America that no one was taking note of his latest atrocities in Cuba," said the October 3 editorial. "He was wrong. Amnesty International has just published its Annual Report for 1987, and the old *commandante* couldn't look worse." Exploiting a local angle in a similar vein, the *Los Angeles Times*, published in a region where refugee issues are high on the agenda, led with Amnesty's criticism of the U.S. and other Western nations for failing to grant asylum to refugees fleeing persecution from Third World governments.

Although no paper printed anything resembling a comprehensive review, the *Los Angeles Times* piece did begin to give readers an indication of the global character of human rights violations. The *Times* article, by staff writer Ronald L. Soble, briefly mentioned improvements in human rights in the Philippines, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Zaire, and Guatemala; Amnesty's opposition to use of the death penalty in China and the U.S.; arrests of government critics and others in India and South Africa; and massacres by Soviet and Afghan forces in Afghanistan.

An Associated Press dispatch, written by Robert Glass and published in *The Boston Globe* on September 30, did a routine job of covering the press conference but by reporting it straight avoided the trap of succumb-

ing to the search for a narrow news hook. In all, the AP report discussed the status of human rights in eight countries, including Peru and Saudi Arabia, which were not discussed in any other news stories. In this global context, however, the story did downplay the extent of Soviet human rights violations, the only allegation mentioned against the USSR being the continued internment of Soviet nationals who had earlier been returned to the USSR by Finland.

Overall, covering ongoing human rights abuses poses some unique problems. The subject does not fit neatly within standard journalistic parameters. Occasionally an event, such as a summary execution or an arbitrary imprisonment, provides breaking news. Often, however, the news in human rights is that violations persist—Nelson Mandela continues to be imprisoned by South African authorities or a refusenik is still denied permission to leave the USSR. These are not discrete news events but persistent conditions that fail to meet traditional journalistic standards.

But even when such human rights stories are reported in the American news media, they are often covered in the context of U.S.-Soviet relations. This is particularly true when superpower summitry is in the air or when the status of human rights in the USSR becomes a factor in negotiations between the two nations. Even when the issue at hand is the persistent and global nature of human rights abuses, as it was with the Amnesty report, the American press is all too ready to succumb to the temptation to make political capital out of worldwide human suffering. □

MIRANDA SPENCER is a researcher at the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.

Internships

The Center for War, Peace, and the News Media and *Deadline* are accepting internship applications for the spring and summer. Interns will assist the Center's staff in research on a variety of topics pertaining to news coverage of U.S.-Soviet relations, arms control, and nuclear issues.

Interns for *Deadline* will provide assistance in research, writing, fact-checking, and other editorial aspects of the publication.

Applicants should have a strong background in arms control, international relations, Soviet studies, military affairs, or journalism. Academic credit with other institutions may be arranged.

Send a résumé, writing sample, academic transcript, and two recommendations to: Internship Coordinator, Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, 10 Washington Place, New York University, New York, N.Y. 10003.

What Reporters Think About the Issues, Part II

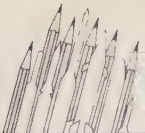
Over the last year, the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media asked reporters for their opinions on arms control, nuclear strategy, and national security. In the November/December issue, Deadline printed journalists' answers to questions about the ability to verify arms control treaties, the military balance, and the wisdom of declaring a no-first-use policy regarding employment of nuclear weapons. Below, reporters answer two additional questions about SDI and the possibility of a nuclear war between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.*

Is Nuclear War Between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. a Serious Possibility in the Near Future?		What Are Your Views on President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative?
Walter Andrews <i>Pentagon Reporter United Press International</i>	Only if some madman gets hold of nuclear weapons.	From what I know of SDI, I think it is good we stand firm on it in terms of how it fits into the negotiation process.
Terry Atlas <i>Foreign Affairs Correspondent Chicago Tribune</i>	Probably not. But there is enough uncertainty to cause justifiable anxiety.	It has potential as a missile defense system as opposed to a population defense, but that is not nearly as politically attractive, even if you could explain why a missile defense is a stabilizing factor in the balance of terror.
William Beecher <i>Washington Bureau Chief Minneapolis Star Tribune</i>	It's possible but not likely.	I am not sure at this moment what kind of program the president has in mind. In 1983, he spoke of an impervious shield. At Iceland, it was a thin defense. That is a very different vision. There is a lot of confusion. And I share it. Frankly, I do not think either vision is that realistic.
Norman Black <i>Pentagon Correspondent The Associated Press</i>	I do not see nuclear war as a possibility. There is nothing to suggest it from a military standpoint.	Research on SDI is worthwhile. Nothing is going to stop the research.
Tim Carrington <i>Pentagon Reporter The Wall Street Journal</i>	It is a tiny, tiny possibility. It is a most unlikely scenario, but it has to be taken seriously.	Nobody has shown that in anyone's lifetime you could create defensive systems to render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." But SDI is becoming something that would be done in concert with reductions. SDI can be overwhelmed by sheer numbers. It could block out an occasional missile.
Eleanor Clift <i>Congressional Correspondent Newsweek</i>	It is definitely a possibility. The chances are, it will not be a reality.	SDI is still in the realm of fantasy. It is hard for me to think it is going to be a savior of mankind. I think it is more likely to set off competing systems and nobody is ever going to quite trust it and so we are going to keep the other weapons.
George E. Condon, Jr. <i>Washington Bureau Chief Copley News Service</i>	It's not at all likely. MAD has given us more than forty years of peace in Europe.	It will not be like the president described it in his 1983 speech. But he is selling it in a way that is most politically popular: you tell people it has a chance of protecting cities and people. I do not think it has any chance of doing that. It is feasible to protect missile sites, but that does not sound as sexy on the campaign trail.
John J. Fialka <i>Staff Reporter in London The Wall Street Journal</i>	Yes, it is a serious possibility in the near future.	SDI is an important bargaining chip. It is a wonderful chip to play because it is aimed at [Soviet] paranoia. I feel absolutely that SDI should be bargained away at the table for deep cuts.
Sara Fritz <i>Capitol Hill Reporter Los Angeles Times</i>	No, I do not think it is a possibility.	No comment.*
Michael R. Gordon <i>National Security Correspondent The New York Times</i>	Things are not as dire as people on both ends of the political spectrum say. The chance of war is very slight. There is no real incentive for either side to attack the other.	If it is going to be deployed, it will not happen for at least ten years. I have a complicated view on SDI, but it is the kind of opinion I do not think I should share, because I am supposed to be objective and unbiased. MAD is a fact of life. Both sides are vulnerable. The deployment of a limited defense would not change that.
Peter Grier <i>Pentagon Correspondent The Christian Science Monitor</i>	The public thinks it is very likely; specialists doubt it. I am worried about a terrorist getting hold of a bomb, not the USSR.	We do not need to abandon the concept, just to tone down the rhetoric. You've got to think of different things to get out of where we are now. Disband the SDIO and give back the projects to the services they came from.

Rick Inderfurth <i>National Security Correspondent</i> <i>ABC News</i>	With 50,000 nuclear weapons in the world today tied into computers, there is always the potential that something could go wrong. I do not feel that the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. has any intention of striking the other, but the possibility exists that others could start a conflict and draw the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. into it.	No comment.*	You could develop something to protect a few ICBM silos, but that is not what SDI is. Anything comprehensive is absurd. Only Reagan and Weinberger stick to that original idea. Protecting populations also is not possible. It is a nice idea, it just is not possible.
Fred Kaplan <i>National Security Correspondent</i> <i>The Boston Globe</i>	No comment.*	No comment.*	I have trouble envisioning how we are going to get there. It is probably worth trying, but at what cost?
David Martin <i>Pentagon Correspondent</i> <i>CBS News</i>	I do not think there is a chance in a billion that the U.S. or the Soviet Union is going to resort to nuclear weapons.	I do not think there is a chance in a billion that the U.S. or the Soviet Union is going to resort to nuclear weapons.	I would be happy to see the Star Wars program hobbled, but I would have a difficult time arguing against laboratory research.
James McCartney <i>Senior National Correspondent</i> <i>The Philadelphia Inquirer</i>	Nuclear war probably will not happen, but there may be one or two more nuclear explosions in the lifetime of my children. I would not be surprised if the Israelis used a nuclear weapon if they got to the extremity.	Nuclear war probably will not happen, but there may be one or two more nuclear explosions in the lifetime of my children. I would not be surprised if the Israelis used a nuclear weapon if they got to the extremity.	SDI is the most important and interesting political development in the arms control field in many years. It is a catalyst without parallel in history to the negotiation process, though it has massive technological difficulties.
John McWethy <i>State Department Correspondent</i> <i>ABC News</i>	It is always possible. We do not spend millions for the fun of it. It is more likely to occur in a non-superpower confrontation.	It is always possible. We do not spend millions for the fun of it. It is more likely to occur in a non-superpower confrontation.	I am damn sure the president does not know what Star Wars is. I think Reagan honestly believes that it is possible that SDI can be a shield to render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." SDI has become part of the fabric of the defense industry and the research establishment. It is not going to go away. Under a new administration, research will continue, but it will not be trumpeted as a cure-all.
Michael Mechem <i>Congressional Editor</i> <i>Aviation Week and Space Technology</i>	I do not worry about nuclear war. I think it is a narcissism in our generation. Every generation had their version of nuclear war. Rome destroyed Carthage totally. The Greeks eliminated the Trojans. What happened before is just as bad as what would happen to us.	I do not worry about nuclear war. I think it is a narcissism in our generation. Every generation had their version of nuclear war. Rome destroyed Carthage totally. The Greeks eliminated the Trojans. What happened before is just as bad as what would happen to us.	The Russians are scared to death of it. They cannot keep up with our technology. They are worried less about the leakproof shield than the spinoffs. For instance, the U.S. is already talking about putting electromagnetic rail-guns on our tanks.
Frank Morring <i>Pentagon Correspondent</i> <i>Scripps Howard News Service</i>	It is always a possibility and that is what is so frightening about it.	It is always a possibility and that is what is so frightening about it.	SDI does not exist as a weapons system, but it has power. Just the contemplation of it has very powerful political effects. I do not know of a precedent for this possible weapons development that is nowhere in view and yet has changed the political dialogue. I do not know many technically qualified people who believe it is anywhere around the corner. I am skeptical that it will be anything like the president outlined in some of his speeches. I think it is already a very important bargaining chip, but I am not sure that President Reagan is going to bargain it.
Don Oberdorfer <i>Diplomatic Correspondent</i> <i>The Washington Post</i>	I do not think we are about to get into a nuclear war, but it is a dangerous world and there remains the danger. Nuclear war is always a possibility when you have the buildup of weapons and the political cross-purposes and distrust that exist in U.S.-Soviet relations.	I do not think we are about to get into a nuclear war, but it is a dangerous world and there remains the danger. Nuclear war is always a possibility when you have the buildup of weapons and the political cross-purposes and distrust that exist in U.S.-Soviet relations.	I think it is a research program that will have difficulty coming up with a serious defensive system. It is not going to be an invisible umbrella over the world.
Walter Pincus <i>National Security Correspondent</i> <i>The Washington Post</i>	I do not believe there is going to be a nuclear war. I do not believe in the likelihood of a first strike.	I do not believe there is going to be a nuclear war. I do not believe in the likelihood of a first strike.	I think it should be researched and, if successful, deployed. Perhaps it is terribly American of me, but I feel that if we had a defensive system, we would not conduct a first strike. I do not think the Soviets should dictate to the U.S. whether we can continue research. I assume they are doing research on their own.
Carl Rochelle <i>Military Affairs Correspondent</i> <i>Cable News Network</i>	I do not think anyone in their rational mind is ever going to push the button, but accidents can happen; tempers can flare.	I do not think anyone in their rational mind is ever going to push the button, but accidents can happen; tempers can flare.	I would agree with most military people I know that Reagan's vision of SDI is absurd. At first, I rejected it out of hand. But now I think it is not a bad idea to think about increased reliance on defenses. But I am not ready to sign on to the idea.
David Wood <i>National Security Correspondent</i> <i>Newhouse News Service</i>	Yes, it is a serious possibility. I do not say it is going to happen, but it is and always will be a serious possibility.	Yes, it is a serious possibility. I do not say it is going to happen, but it is and always will be a serious possibility.	

+ Reporters were interviewed by Center researchers and chosen to include Pentagon and national security correspondents as well as journalists who write on these subjects in the context of their White House, State Department, or related beats. Responses were edited for clarity and space.

*Indicates that the reporter declined to answer the question or answered obliquely.



Summit Survey: Forty Ways to Frame an Agreement

Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev succeeded admirably in communicating a new era of good feeling and the likelihood of a strategic arms cut, as reflected in a broad sample of print and broadcast coverage of the first day of the Washington Summit, when the two leaders signed the INF pact. *Deadline* looked for major themes in the first day coverage provided by forty news organizations in the U.S. and abroad. The chart below, compiled by Renee Appelbaum, a member of Edwin Diamond's News Study Group at NYU, summarizes the findings, with the most common frames appearing across the top. Optimism was reflected in most—but not all—news organs; a few countered the prevailing mood by stressing long-standing disagreements between the two sides.

	INF Pact Historic	Strategic Pact In Reach	Step To Nuclear Disarmament	Era of Good Feeling Begins	Verification Breakthrough	Anti-Soviet Protests Persist	Regional/Rights Issues Unresolved	Meeting of Foes Ironic
DOMESTIC NEWSPAPERS*								
Atlanta Constitution								
The Baltimore Sun								
The Boston Globe								
The Buffalo Evening News								
Chicago Tribune								
The Cincinnati Enquirer								
The Cleveland Plain Dealer								
The Florida Times-Union								
The Hartford Courant								
Los Angeles Times								
The Louisville Courier-Journal								
The Miami Herald								
The Newark Star-Ledger								
Newsday								
New York Daily News								
The New York Times								
The Orlando Sentinel								
The Philadelphia Inquirer								
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette								
St. Louis Post-Dispatch								
Tampa Tribune								
USA Today								
The Wall Street Journal								
The Washington Post								
The Washington Times								
NETWORK EVENING NEWS								
ABC								
CBS								
CNN								
NBC								
INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPERS								
El Espectador (Bogota)								
Le Figaro (Paris)								
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Frankfurt)								
The Globe and Mail (Toronto)								
The Guardian (London)								
The Independent (London)								
International Herald Tribune (Paris)								
The Montreal Gazette								
Liberation (Paris)								
Suddeutsche Zeitung (Munich)								
Toronto Star								

*The survey includes the major themes that appeared in the lead news story filed by each news organization on December 8, the day the INF pact was signed. The sample of U.S. newspapers is weighted toward the East Coast because of day-after availability in New York City. Research assistance was provided by Jennifer Bersch, Estelle Lander, Xiomara Laureano, David M. Rubin, and Meredith Taylor.

LETTERS

CBS: This Was a Real Story

To the Editor:

David Rubin's look at television coverage of the impending INF deal ["Television Signs an INF Pact," *Deadline*, November/December 1987] faults our handling of the events of September 18. His point, I think, is that by giving the administration its say, we allowed ourselves to become pawns in a cynical White House PR game.

Of course, it's part of our job to report what the president and his aides say and do. Mr. Rubin correctly points out that it's also part of our job to probe and question and balance our coverage. He doesn't think we did that on September 18. Speaking at least of CBS, I think he's wrong.

On September 18, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. did reach an agreement in principle to wrap up the agreement. The president and secretary of state did appear in the briefing room to make that announcement. Reaction on Capitol Hill was generally positive. We reported these things because that's our job. We have to report on the good days for the administration (we're certainly there for the bad days), and this was one of them. That doesn't mean the White House controls us, or that we rose to some administration bait. This was a real story.

We didn't ignore the problems this day, though. Bill Plante's story said: "... there are quite a few details to be worked out, including the timetable for destroying the weapons, tricky problems of verification. . . ." Senator John Glenn appeared in the same story: "I want to see the fine print on verification. I want to see what implications this has on the conventional weaponry balance in Europe." The White House story was followed by pieces from the Pentagon, Moscow, and London. And that day's coverage can't be fairly viewed in isolation. We've been on this story for a long time, from every angle. And I'm sure the Reagan administration hasn't always

been thrilled with our approach.
Rome J. Hartman
White House Producer
CBS Evening News
Washington, D.C.

David M. Rubin replies: The prolonged negotiations over an INF accord that followed the September 18 agreement raise additional questions about what sort of breakthrough occurred. Someday, perhaps, we shall know. White House and State Department reporters seem to have had no access to the details, and the network reports skirted remaining problems in a sentence or two. In retrospect, the September 18 celebration seems even more a classic White House-inspired television event.

The Pentagon Is the Source

To the Editor:

I am responding to Betsy Treitler's article about the discrepancies sometimes reported by the news media regarding the size of the Soviet Navy ["The Soviet Rubber Fleet Sails the Pacific," *Deadline*, September/October 1987].

The point is well taken. There are sometimes discrepancies reported by the news media. While this is not surprising, as the actual strength and capability of the Soviet Navy is a highly guarded Soviet state secret, the Department of Defense continues to clarify its unclassified estimates of overall Soviet military strength.

As you have noted, incorrect figures regarding Soviet military strength occasionally find their way into print. We can only hope that responsible journalists will use the informative tools prepared by the Department of Defense.

H. H. Loving
Captain, U.S. Navy
Assistant Chief of Information
for Plans, Policy, and Community
Programs
Washington, D.C.

Nonnuclear Reactions

To the Editor:

Foreign observers can often put events in one's country in better perspective than the natives, as Edwin

Diamond's perceptive article ["Covering Labour's Campaign, Defense Issues Bomb," *Deadline*, September/October 1987] about Labour's defence policy and the British general election showed. Diamond rightly pointed out that the opinion polls remained almost static during the election, suggesting that the attacks on Labour's nonnuclear defence policy appeared to have no impact. It is perhaps worth adding, however, that there is evidence that defence considerations helped to decide voting preferences before the election campaign began. The same Harris Research Centre exit poll for Independent Television News that Diamond quotes also discovered that 34 percent of all voters said that the party's defence policy made them less likely to vote Labour.

David Walter
Political Correspondent
Channel Four News
London, England

To the Editor:

Without wishing to dissent from Mr. Edwin Diamond's very perceptive main conclusions, I would argue that Labour's nonnuclear defence strategy still remained a major weakness in their 1987 British general election campaign. The Harris Research Centre recently undertook a massive study of 6,000 voters for two of our media clients, in which potential Labour voters were asked what the obstacles to voting Labour were. Labour's unpopular defence policy ranked second, just behind the party's continuing strong links with the unions.

In fact, I would say our surveys show that Labour faces four problems of approximately equal weight: defence, the unions, the "extreme" left-wing socialists within the party, and concerns about their economic policies. I agree with Diamond that the prosperity of the country was the chief source of Mrs. Thatcher's historic third victory. But if economic indicators deteriorate, Labour's other problems will surface.

Robert J. Waller
Research Director
The Harris Research Centre
London, England



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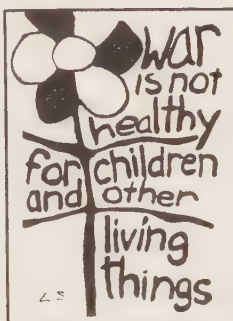
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nator for the Freeze campaign, calls it "helping to build an alternative, pushing back the parameters of the debate." It is work, he says, that is best done outside campaigns. "Working for a candidate almost by definition puts a straitjacket on you," he says. "Someone has to carry the banner for what we really want, rather than what we think we can get."

Those who have decided to immerse themselves in the electoral process admit they are going somewhat easy on the candidates. Campaign debate may not be "quite as issue-focused as we'd like," says Ann Edgerton, an Iowa Democratic county chairperson and member of WAND's board of directors. "But we have to look at electability. We have to deal with the American public, not just ourselves."

Furthermore, it can be easier to achieve progress on arms control with a president who is seen as "tough" on foreign policy. Freeze Voter's Reynolds cites the atmospheric test ban, negotiated by Kennedy after the Cuban missile crisis, and the ABM Treaty, negotiated by Nixon. "If we press hard for all our issues and force commitments from candidates, we run the risk of

making them unelectable or unable to push our issues in office," he says.

Unperturbed by that dilemma, groups like STARPAC are already considering turning their evaluations of candidates into endorsements—if not of any perfect peace candidate, of the one candidate they think is best. Endorsements are "the name of the game in politics," says Brammer, and particularly effective in Iowa, where peace activists wield considerable influence in the state's February precinct caucuses—the lead-off contest of the election year.

But given the relatively few differences between the Democrats, STARPAC is proceeding cautiously. Many of its members are leaning strongly toward Sen. Paul Simon of Illinois. But others are equally enthusiastic about Jackson, Gov. Michael Dukakis, or former governor Bruce Babbitt. STARPAC is trying to solve its dilemma by supplementing any endorsement with a list of other "affirmable" candidates.

At the national level, peace groups are likely to avoid endorsements altogether. "In general, we've tried not to identify ourselves with any one party," says David Cortright, co-director of SANE/FREEZE, which makes endorsements only in congressional races. Some fear endorsements

can spark criticism that a candidate is vulnerable to "interest group" pressure. Others caution that being too close to the Democrats can undermine efforts to influence moderate Republicans in Congress.

Congress—and congressional races—remain at least as high as the presidential race among activists' priorities in 1988. At stake is what Freeze Voter's Reynolds terms "the ability to actually stop the arms race rather than talk about stopping it."

Donaldson agrees: "In order for any president to succeed [in advancing peace], we'll need a Congress that will support him in ratifying treaties and in legislation."

Cortright says SANE/FREEZE recommends "a lot of action on presidential races up to the convention, when the primary season has candidates most open to citizen pressure." Then, "it's Senate and House races," he says, prescribing a dose of realism: "In the general elections, we're talking about 60 million voters and hundreds of millions of dollars. It's hard then to have any influence." □

Editor's Note: As Nuclear Times went to press, Gary Hart announced he was re-entering the presidential race. We regret his exclusion from this article.

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"Stop! Please stop the train," screamed Holley Rauhen, Willson's wife of nine days, who suddenly realized the engine had accelerated too rapidly to brake in time. It was no use; the juggernaut roared forward. Two blockaders managed to jump out of the way, but Willson, too slow, disap-

elsewhere around the country for years, or that hundreds of citizens had been voicing their opposition to the arms race the way Brian Willson had done—in front of an oncoming train.

Like other dissenters who looked for ways to challenge laws and policies they believed to be illegitimate, Willson and the Bangor protesters chose civil disobedience.



Facing down a weapons train: Brian Willson and his wife, Holley Rauhen, at the hospital.

peared under the wheels. The train severed his right foot instantly, mangled his left leg and dragged him 25 feet before halting. His skull was cracked so badly his brain showed through.

Miraculously, he survived; but surgeons working to save his life had to amputate his left leg below the knee.

The September 1, 1987 demonstration had been well publicized. Reporters armed with pens, tape recorders and video cameras were there to witness the event. For the next several days, millions of Americans saw that train barrel over Brian Willson—or read about it in newspapers—and were forced to reflect upon the price some people are willing to pay to keep faith with their conscience.

Just weeks before, nine anti-nuclear demonstrators had faced a similar risk when they stood on tracks to block a train carrying missile motors into the Trident nuclear submarine base in Bangor, Washington. Their protest and arrest, however, failed to make national news. Few Americans knew that blockades of missile trains had been taking place at the sub base and

Civil disobedience is by definition a public act of moral desperation, a direct appeal to the conscience of the community to correct some greater social evil.

Anti-nuclear civil disobedience occupies a unique—and controversial—position in the larger peace and disarmament movement. Its basic tactics—from the lone witness, to mass mobilization—are similar to those used effectively in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements.

What differentiates anti-nuclear civil disobedience from other forms of nonviolent protest is that it is not about equal rights or redistributive justice or war resistance *per se*. Nor is it necessarily about changing the law. As anti-nuclear activists point out, there are no "Jim Crow" laws mandating nuclear weapons. Rather, these activists say, anti-nuclear civil disobedience is about a protracted campaign to wage peace with one non-negotiable objective: the total elimination of nuclear armaments.

Longtime organizers like Shelley Douglass, co-founder of the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action in Bangor, have no illusions of overnight success. "There's virtually no way," she says, "including taking the tracks up, that we can physically stop these trains from going into Bangor, because the government simply has too

much money and too much power. But the real point of these actions isn't actually to stop the trains, it's to raise the issues and begin the conversion of hearts and minds. And in that sense, we think they're quite effective."

Yet a number of critics, including some in the peace movement who see value in civil disobedience as both an organizing tool and a mechanism for channeling political frustration, say Douglass's position merely begs the question. And they question whether civil disobedience has any impact on disarmament at all.

"In today's world, on the anti-nuclear issue, civil disobedience is not extremely helpful," comments a top executive of a major peace foundation. "It keeps a lot of activists active, but these brave people who lie on railroad tracks to keep missile [components] from being delivered unfortunately give the average American the impression that the peace movement is composed of 'crazies.' And the more we can get away from that image the more effect we will have on public policy."

Karen Mulhauser, former executive director of Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN) in Washington, D.C., adds, "It takes time, money and energy to bring off an effective civil disobedience campaign. If we put our limited human and financial resources into activities that directly affect the political process, I believe we would be more likely to have the kind of impact we are seeking."

Ignored by the Media

The Ground Zero Center is just one of the more than 70 national, regional and local anti-nuclear groups across the country engaging in acts of what is variously called civil disobedience, "divine obedience," "Nuremberg action" or nonviolent direct action.

Most of these groups have sprung up within the past seven years to protest the Reagan administration's trillion-dollar arms buildup and also, at a deeper level, the painful failure of democratic processes to turn back the nuclear clock. Some, such as the Ground Zero Center, are communities with a religious orientation that view themselves, as Douglass puts it, as Gandhian "experiments in nonviolent living," the necessary precursors to a bombless world. Others, such as the Honeywell Project in Minneapolis, are offshoots of the political activism of the Vietnam War period. Their aim is to mobilize large numbers of people—through demonstrations, consumer boycotts and shareholder resolutions—to disrupt "business as usual" at the nation's leading nuclear-weapons contractors. A

Mel Friedman, a freelance writer in New York City, writes frequently about media and civil liberties.

few, such as the American Peace Test (APT) and the Plowshares, believe in confronting the bomb directly to dispel the notion that human beings are powerless before it. APT supports a permanent peace camp and coordinates mass demonstrations at the Department of Energy's nuclear weapons test site in Mercury, Nevada, 65 miles northwest of Las Vegas, to dramatize the need for a comprehensive test ban treaty.

The Plowshares are anti-nuclear Luddites who take their name and marching orders from the Biblical injunction of Isaiah to beat "swords into plowshares." In 25 actions since 1980, more than 75 Plowshares participants have broken into military installations, weapons facilities and even Minuteman missile silos, hammered and poured blood on "first-strike" weapons and then waited peacefully to be arrested. For delivering these symbolic blows for disarmament, at least 35 demonstrators have been sentenced to state and federal prison terms ranging from one to 18 years.

For a movement of its size, diversity and tenacity of purpose, anti-nuclear civil disobedience receives scant attention from the national news establishment. Last August, for example, anti-nuclear protesters commemorated the 42nd anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in a number of demonstrations. Besides the many rallies that took place, individuals and groups of up to 340 people committed acts of civil disobedience at military installations in at least six states across the country, but none of these events, or the issues they raised, were considered newsworthy by the national media.

"The media haven't acknowledged that this part of the movement is going on," says Jack Cohen-Joppa, editor of *The Nuclear Resister*, a seven-year-old Tuscon-based newsletter covering anti-nuclear civil disobedience. "When incidents are reported, it's implied that they're the work of lone characters out there rather than part of a national movement."

"Although the peace movement seems to have floundered or receded from view," he says, "the incidents and the number of people involved in civil disobedience have not been decreasing."

Annual figures compiled by *The Nuclear Resister*, which appears every six to eight weeks and has about 800 subscribers, provide a rough measure of the ubiquity of anti-nuclear dissent. According to the latest tallies, there were more than 3,200 arrests in the United States and Canada in 1986 for anti-nuclear civil disobedience, and since 1983, the heyday of the freeze, there have been more than 15,000 arrests.

Given civil disobedience's historic role as an early warning signal of democratic discontent, the media's unwillingness to cover civil disobedience misleads the public about the depth of grassroots disaffection with U.S. nuclear arms policies.

Anti-nuclear dissenters have not had much better luck in getting their say in the courts. With rare exceptions, state and fed-

A Noble Failure?

Media neglect and judicial constraint have led some sympathetic observers to wonder whether anti-nuclear civil disobedience should not be pronounced a noble failure—its tactics dismissed as out of touch with political realities.

"Civil disobedience is over-used," says



Activists in Bangor, Washington, block the path of train carrying nuclear missile parts.

eral judges have refused to permit defendants to talk about their motives (usually that they acted out of "necessity" to safeguard human life) or to introduce evidence or expert testimony that might put the weapons and their makers on trial. When the protesters have been allowed to discuss their motives, judges have invariably instructed their juries to disregard such testimony as irrelevant to the question of the defendants' guilt or innocence.

The most extreme example of this form of judicial censorship occurred recently in Philadelphia in a case involving four "Epiphany" Plowshares activists arrested for bashing three military aircraft with sledgehammers in January 1987. After the first trial ended in a hung jury, the presiding federal court judge issued a sweeping gag order prohibiting the defendants or their attorneys from mentioning anything in open court about, among other things, U.S. nuclear arms policy; the defense budget; "principles of international law" (including the Nuremberg and U.N. Charters); "any person or group's understanding of the word of God"; or "any religious, moral or ethical convictions relating to nuclear weapons, nuclear war, foreign policy, war in general, disarmament and/or fear of a nuclear holocaust."

Steven Ladd, program director of the Educational Film and Video Project in Berkeley, California. "It just doesn't have the political impact it had during the civil rights movement. A sit-in at a lunch counter provided a much more striking, much clearer example of resistance to injustice," says Ladd, a former co-chair of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. "Today, it's much more difficult to generate that kind of media and public interest because it's become so commonplace."

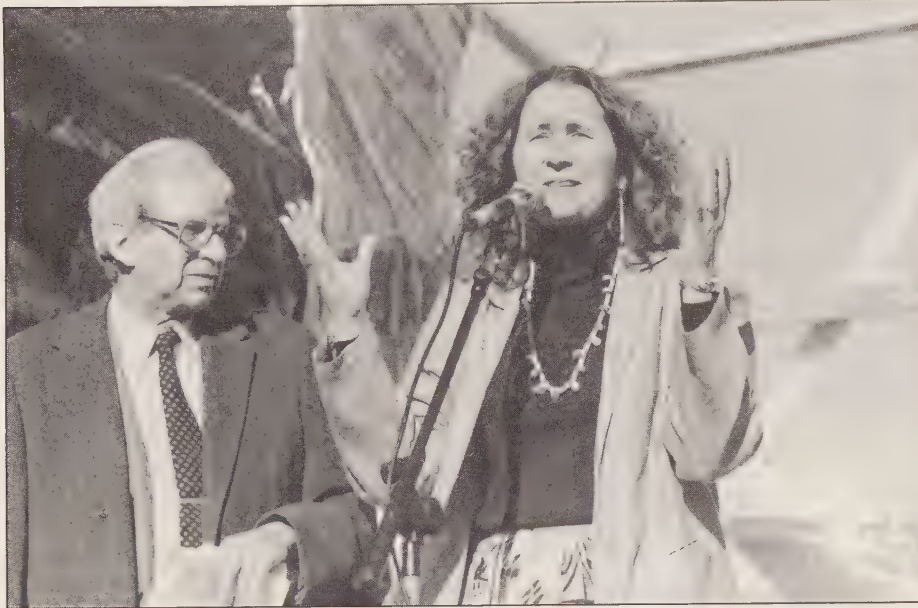
Ronald Dworkin, who wrote an eloquent defense of Vietnam War-era draft resistance, goes much further. In a recent essay, the New York University law professor warns that the tactics of anti-nuclear civil disobedience skirt perilously close to "civil blackmail" and threaten to "make the public at large pay less attention to the complex issues on which any intelligent view must be based. . . ."

According to Charles DiSalvo, a law professor at the University of West Virginia, the root of the problem is that effective civil disobedience must do two things: focus debate on protesters' grievances and provoke a "curative" institutional response. But because "there is no clear set of laws protecting the bomb," says DiSalvo, who has represented "war tax" resisters as

well as Plowshares defendants, peace activists break laws protecting public and private property, which are not inherently offensive statutes.

During the civil rights movement, DiSalvo says, the public could easily perceive "a close connection between the beatings suffered by Freedom Riders and the policies and attitudes they were protest-

arrested and go home and do our public education," Douglass recalls. "But since our original commitment was to nonviolence and since the Trident campaign was an experiment in nonviolence, we felt like what we were doing was violating the people here because we never stopped to build relationships or to share our point of view. So we decided to buy land here—so that



Jesse Cocks (right): Protesting nuclear testing in the Nevada desert changed her life.

ing." In the case of anti-nuclear civil disobedience, however, "the evil that's being protested is not at all tightly connected to the suffering that's being endured. The public doesn't see the evil. In fact, sometimes they don't see the suffering. The suffering comes after an obscure trial is held somewhere in Kansas and the person is shipped off to West Virginia to serve a long prison term. Out of sight, out of mind."

For Shelley Douglass of the Ground Zero Center, the real issue is one of "violence versus nonviolence."

"We see our whole culture as an extremely violent one," she says. "The Trident [submarine] is a symptom, not a root cause. What we really need to do is try to learn how to live nonviolently. And what we're about is a little experiment in trying to do just that."

Douglass became active in civil disobedience during her college years via the civil rights movement, and her commitment to it increased during the Vietnam War.

The Ground Zero Center was formed in 1978 after a group of families, including Douglass's, decided to establish a permanent peace community on a modest, four-acre parcel of land bordering the Bangor submarine base. "Previously, we'd come maybe twice a year and protest and get

would make us neighbors."

For four years the group leafletted and occasionally trespassed on the base. It held its biggest nonviolent protests in 1979 and 1980, when 200 to 300 people were arrested. Then, in 1982, the Ground Zero Center organized a blockade to obstruct the arrival of the first Trident submarine at Bangor. It took more than a year to plan, Douglass says. "There were spotters all the way down to Panama looking for the submarine." Two 50-foot sailboats, one from Australia and the other from Canada, participated, as did a flotilla of rowboats and small craft bearing about 40 protesters.

When the submarines finally slipped into the Hood Canal, the fjord-like body of water next to the base, 99 Coast Guard and Navy vessels and a swarm of helicopters intercepted the sailboats and launched what Douglass calls a "pre-emptive first strike." Nevertheless, one craft did manage to elude the dragnet and encircle the submarine. Of the dozen or so protesters arrested, none were tried. Douglass believes this was because the government wanted to avoid further embarrassing publicity.

Shortly after the blockade, the Ground Zero Center discovered that trains were transporting missile motors into Bangor from Salt Lake City. Working with the

Agape Community, a network of "scouts" that monitor the movements of weapons trains, the center began organizing vigils and blockades along the track routes.

The last time a weapons train entered Bangor was in February 1985. Nineteen people who sat or knelt in the path of the convoy of hydrogen bombs were arrested and charged by the state with trespass and conspiracy to commit trespass (a count later dismissed). Four months later, a jury, permitted to hear testimony about the defendants' "state of mind" during the blockade, returned 19 not guilty verdicts.

"Kitsap County hasn't pressed charges since then," Douglass says. "Although they still come and remove people from the tracks, they just don't charge them. The state figures it's too expensive and that it really isn't their problem—it's the Navy's."

Winning the Battle, Losing the War

One of the key unanswered questions in the peace movement today is how to translate varying approaches to grassroots activism, including civil disobedience, into effective political solutions.

As Karen Mulhauser of CAN notes, civil disobedience can pull people into the movement and raise the visibility of issues, but "ultimately it can only be effective, if those people are then encouraged to take the next step and get involved in the policy process." Doors must always be left open to them, she says.

On the other hand, if the movement becomes too closely associated with law-breaking activities it could lose vital support, says Ann Fagan Ginger, president of the Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, a peace law research center in Berkeley. "We are a law-abiding people," she says, "and if the peace movement is to succeed, it will have to include people who are not primarily religious and not primarily martyrs."

Jessie Cocks, co-founder of the American Peace Test, discovered her own solution to the dilemma on August 8, 1985. That was the day the 37-year-old onetime trainer of thoroughbred yearlings and former chair of the Pennsylvania freeze campaign was arrested and jailed for trespassing at the Nevada atomic weapons test site. "When you're right there where they test nuclear weapons," she says, "you're right in the belly of the beast. You're confronting one of the most important stages in the life cycle of a nuclear weapon."

Cocks had been fighting violence all her adult life. At 19, she married an alcoholic who beat her; at 27, she set up and ran a battered-women's center in Chester, Pennsylvania. It was natural that she should find anti-nuclear activism deeply rewarding.

The trespass was "such a powerful experience for me," she says. "[It was] the first time my political and spiritual selves merged. I just knew we had to try to get the peace movement involved in getting people to the Nevada test site to have that experience, because it changes your life."

A month earlier, the Soviet Union had announced a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing. Cocks, then a member of the freeze campaign's direct action task force, saw an opportunity for the Freeze to apply pressure on the Reagan administration, which was then preparing for a summit with the Soviets in Geneva, to respond in kind. With some careful politicking, she convinced the executive committee of the freeze to back a proposal for a 32-day non-violent action, ending November 18, at the Nevada test site. She knew the project involved "a real risk" for the Freeze, because, up until then, the broad-based movement had been extremely reluctant to jeopardize its mainstream support by appearing to sanction illegal acts.

Cocks won the battle—"The American Peace Test: A Project of the National Freeze" was both a logistical and public relations success—but lost the war. Toward the end of the test-site protest, the national conference of the Freeze met in Chicago and voted by a narrow margin not to sponsor further acts of civil disobedience. Steve Ladd, who chaired the session, recalls that the highly charged debate seemed to focus on fears that the freeze might become stereotyped as violent and confrontational. According to Monica Green, who is currently a national co-chair of SANE/FREEZE (the new organization formed by SANE and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign), another reason for the decision was the Freeze campaign's concern that the organization might lose its tax-exempt status if it endorsed civil disobedience.

Undaunted, Cocks pulled up stakes, packed off to Las Vegas in January 1986 and set up the American Peace Test as a permanent peace organization, separate from the freeze, dedicated to "stopping the arms race, with a focus on stopping testing." Since then APT has organized numerous vigils and demonstrations—some of them large-scale—at the bomb's door. In February 1987, for example, when the United States scheduled its first atomic test of the year, a move that prompted the Soviet Union to end its 19-month testing moratorium, APT called a mass protest on short notice that brought more than 2,000 demonstrators to the desert and resulted in 438 arrests. On Mother's Day, May 10 of last year, the largest protest to date took

place, involving 3,000 demonstrators and resulting in 746 arrests.

By May, Nye County District Attorney Philip Dunleavy, who had been elected on a pledge to "get tough with the protesters," had been forced, somewhat sheepishly, to back down. The cost of trying and jailing the waves of trespassers had practically bankrupted the county's law enforcement

Vietnam, began taking to the streets again in 1982 to oppose the company's production of guidance-system components for the cruise, MX and Pershing II missiles. Nine major civil disobedience actions and dozens of smaller ones since then have led to more than 1,800 arrests. The largest part of a day of nationwide demonstrations against the deployment of cruise and Per-



The Honeywell Project in Minneapolis: Battling a major weapons maker for 20 years.

system, he said. To avoid total financial disaster, he announced that the county would continue to arrest demonstrators, but would no longer take them to court, implying that it was a matter best left to the federal authorities.

"We see [the decision] as a victory," says Cocks. "But if the feds take over, it's going to up the ante for the people undergoing the arrests. But I think that's appropriate. We're not just playing games out there. And even though these actions are symbolic—in the sense that we are not stopping a test—if we start being dealt with by the feds, then we'll be [prosecuted] in a Las Vegas court, and it'll be a more interesting case for the press."

[*Nuclear Times* reported in its November/December 1987 issue that Cocks and two others were charged with conspiracy to commit trespassing at a demonstration in November 1986. Since then, the charges were dropped.]

Attacking the Corporate Image

At the Honeywell Project in Minneapolis, civil disobedience is a tool for exposing and obstructing the corporate role in the nuclear arms race. The group, originally formed in 1968 to protest Honeywell's manufacture of cluster bombs for use in

shing missiles in Europe, succeeded in closing down Honeywell's headquarters for a day in October 1983.

In contrast to groups like Plowshares that engage in "nukotage"—acts literally designed to disable the U.S. nuclear war machine—the Honeywell Project's main tactics are public education and mass actions involving less risk to participants. "What we're doing disrupts something a little harder to pin down—the corporate image," says Richard Seymour, a coordinator of the group. "It's really important for Honeywell to be thought of as an up-standing community citizen. But the more we find out about the work that they're into, the harder it is for them to keep up that facade."

Shortly after the 1983 blockade that shut Honeywell down, Edson Spencer, Honeywell's chief executive officer, wrote an article for the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* (later republished in *Newsweek*) that called for the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from Europe.

"[Spencer's proposal] is different from what we want, the abolition of all nuclear weapons," says Seymour. "But we believe we created a situation where Honeywell had to address the issue."

(Continued on page 37)

DOES DETERRENCE WORK?

PEOPLE DON'T BEHAVE THE WAY THE THEORY SAYS THEY SHOULD

"The practice of deterrence by the United States is utterly primitive," says Cornell University Peace Studies Director Richard Lebow, because it fails to appreciate the psychological factors that affect the behavior of statesmen and diplomats.

Deterrence is the theory used to guide U.S. and Soviet nuclear policy. As Richard Betts, a defense policy analyst at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., describes it, deterrence is a way of telling a potential adversary: "If you do this bad thing, we'll kill you. If you don't do it, no problem."

From the American point of view, a "bad thing" is aggression, such as a Soviet invasion of Western Europe or a dramatic change in the global status quo, and the threat to "kill" an adversary is backed up with a ready-to-use arsenal of nuclear weapons. Because deterrence attempts to preserve the status quo and not "coerce the opponent into concessions," which he would describe as "compellence not deterrence," Betts says the theory is a "conservative doctrine."

Lebow would not quarrel with this description of deterrence: "Deterrence—the use of threats to persuade an adversary not to attack—has been around since time immemorial." What's different, he says, is that before states acquired nuclear weapons, "people used to be able to convince themselves that they could win if deterrence failed. Now they can't."

It is the failure of deterrence that concerns Lebow and his colleagues, Columbia University political science Professor Robert Jervis and University of Toronto political science Professor Janice Stein. In their book of essays, *Psychology and Deterrence*, Lebow, Jervis and Stein examine cases where deterrence has failed. They find that it is the peculiar behavior of statesmen in difficult circumstances that caused deterrence to fail. This behavior can not be explained by the theory, nor can the failure of deterrence be blamed on the faulty implementation of deterrence policy. Instead, the actions taken, which frequently result in war, are the result of psychological factors that undermined the deterrence policy of adversary states.

The behavior of leaders in a crisis can be described as foolhardy and irrational. But given the circumstances facing leaders at the time, their actions can also be understood as resulting from what Lebow calls "motivated" and "unmotivated biases," which are common to sober and rational leaders as well as adventurous ones.

"Unmotivated biases" are what psychologists call the mental shortcuts people take when processing information in a complex, stressful environment. Simply put, unmotivated biases result in the phenomenon of "jumping to conclusions." Leaders frequently draw conclusions based on partial information before being fully apprised of a developing situation. This leads to errors of judgment and miscalculation, which can be disastrous in a crisis.

When people interpret events to conform with their own pre-existing ideas, or when they refuse to listen to ideas that do not conform with their own views, psychologists say they are acting on the basis of "motivated biases." In popular terms, these people are guilty of "wishful thinking." As Jervis says, "People are taken by surprise because they can't process contrary information. In 1941, U.S. leaders could not believe that the Japanese would attack. And in 1973, the Israelis couldn't believe that the Egyptians would launch a surprise attack across the Suez canal. In both cases, information to the contrary was ignored."

U.S. and Israeli leaders did not think they would be attacked because they could not believe a weaker opponent would initiate a war it would doubtless lose. What U.S. and Israeli leaders did not understand is their adversary's psychology: when faced with a stressful and intolerable situation, many people would rather act badly than not act at all.

Because leaders are subject to errors of motivated and unmotivated bias, they can act in ways that a rational theory of deterrence would not predict. "Deterrence," says Jervis, "is a theory of states as rational actors." But because they are biased, they do not always act "rationally."

Lebow agrees. "Deterrence theory assumes that policymakers make a rational cost calculus before taking the initiative.

We find that they convince themselves that they will succeed despite information to the contrary."

Based on their study of a variety of cases, the authors of *Psychology and Deterrence* find that deterrence fails as a result of psychological factors even where the condi-



tions for a credible deterrence policy exist. As Jervis says, "The capability and readiness to wage war does not necessarily deter war."

Deterrence Doesn't Fail. Proponents of deterrence theory argue that the work of Lebow, Jervis and Stein does not undermine the theory in any fundamental way. Proponents have drawn several lines of argument to defend deterrence and repel its critics.

Writing in *International Security*, John Orme, a professor at Oglethorpe University in Atlanta, takes issue with Lebow's interpretation of incidents that demonstrate the "failure" of deterrence. Orme argues that a more accurate interpretation reveals that in each of the cases used by Lebow in his

book *Between Peace and War*, "Deterrence failed to deter . . . because of the absence of one of the standard pre-conditions for its successful operation [commitment, credibility and capability]; not the irrationality of the challenger."

Although Betts thinks Lebow, Jervis and Stein's historical scholarship is generally sound and agrees with much of their criticism of deterrence, he cautions, "We have to be careful about drawing too many analogies between cases involving nuclear weapons and ones that involve conventional weapons." Betts points out that the critics rely heavily on an examination of conventional conflicts, many prior to the advent of nuclear weapons, and says, "You

rence did not occur?" he asks in a forthcoming paper.

A final line of defense is that there is no alternative to deterrence, or that deterrence is just fine. "What alternative do we have?" Quester asks rhetorically.

Betts is more adamant. Whether or not deterrence "fails"—either for psychological reasons or because the policy is badly applied—Betts believes it is a necessary policy: "There are a range of problems where you *need* to threaten your opponent. There are countries that might attack you if it weren't for deterrence."

Deterrence and Reassurance. Jervis concedes that there is a "real problem generalizing from non-nuclear to nuclear cases.

rence in general works, deterrence in practice is bad: "Deterrence leads to counterforce and escalation-dominance strategies. These strategies make war more likely by creating arms races and confirming each country's suspicions of the other. As a way to manage conflict, deterrence has been a disaster."

Although critical of it, neither Lebow or Jervis are willing to discard it. "We don't call for abandoning deterrence," Jervis says, "but we want a better instrument of statecraft."

According to Jervis and Lebow, this improved "instrument" would combine deterrence with "reassurance." "You need to combine the two," Jervis says. "You have to make sure the other side has a tolerable future, which requires a degree of empathy. States often don't understand how their actions threaten other states. You need both, which is extremely difficult and has been neglected by policymakers."

Betts does not think reassurance should be added to deterrence: "I see more costs associated with reassurance policies than they [Lebow and Jervis] do. My work on surprise attacks suggests that the victim thought their opponents needed to be reassured. Stalin tried to reassure Hitler. It didn't work. This makes me careful about the costs of deterrence."

Lebow disagrees with Betts: "Deterrence theory assumes that resorts to force are opportunity-based. Hitler aside ['Hitlers are very rare,' he writes elsewhere, and Hitler could not have been successfully deterred or reassured, he argues], the evidence shows that leaders adopt risk responses only when they feel weak."

"Deterrence is like a dam. Deterrence theorists assume that a dam should be strong, and if there is the slightest crack, the on-rushing water will inundate the valley below. We think that the relevant problem is not just the crack, but the height of the water behind the dam, which can be managed intelligently. You have to reduce the water pressure on the dam *and* make the dam strong to prevent disaster." □

The particulars of this debate can be found in a variety of written sources: Robert Jervis, Richard Lebow and Janice Stein, Psychology and Deterrence (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); George Quester, The Future of Nuclear Deterrence (Lexington Books, 1986); Richard Betts, Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance (Brookings Institution, 1987); John Orme, "Deterrence Failures," in International Security (Spring 1987); and a Richard Lebow's reply, "Deterrence Failures Revisited," in International Security (Summer 1987).



have to be careful how far you take it."

A second line of defense is that, by and large, deterrence works. Criticism based on historical case studies and interpretation of psychological factors at work in a crisis does not really change this, according to George Quester, professor of government and political science at the University of Maryland. "Lebow looks at the 'failures' of deterrence," Quester says. "But deterrence doesn't 'fail' when you look nuclear weapons in the eye. I think it's quite remarkable how well deterrence has worked."

Quester is reluctant to describe the examples Lebow, Jervis and Stein use as "failures" of deterrence. "Would it not be more careful, when considering a crisis that led to war, to begin by saying only that 'deter-

The psychological pressures are the same, but there are a lot of counter-pressures in the nuclear cases." But he defends comparative historical research: "At a minimum, these cases are illustrative. Many of them can happen again."

As for the argument that deterrence works generally, Jervis agrees with Quester that U.S.-Soviet deterrence "is more robust than it was in the past. That leads me to be optimistic generally, even though I worry about how deterrence can break down."

Lebow agrees that "general deterrence" between the United States and the Soviet Union works pretty well: "The character of superpower relations and the reality of mutually assured destruction makes people cautious, which is good." But while deter-

DIETRICH FISCHER

PROTECTIVE DEFENSE

A PURELY DEFENSIVE POSTURE
INCREASES THE SECURITY OF ALL NATIONS

The debate over security generally breaks down into two arguments. One side emphasizes national security as the overriding goal and argues that it can be achieved through greater military strength. The other side says that peace is the goal and it can best be achieved by disarmament.

Listening to both sides, one could get the false impression that we must choose between security and peace. However, in the nuclear age there can be no security without peace, nor peace without security.

One source of this confusion is the ambiguity of the word "strength." Strength can have several connotations. It can mean that we are not harmed if others try to hurt us. But it can also suggest that we are a threat to others. This second connotation is counterproductive. If others see us as a threat to their security, they will seek to counter that threat.

A further distinction can be made between a *warning* (which may deter others from attacking us out of fear of retaliation) and a *threat* (which can put pressure on others to destroy us out of fear that otherwise we would destroy them). But even warnings can sometimes be mistaken as threats.

Those who call for an arms buildup to be more secure, the advocates of "peace through strength," confuse the two meanings of strength and falsely believe that threatening others will make us more secure. But those who advocate unilateral disarmament to achieve peace are equally confused. They falsely believe that we must risk our own security so as not to be a threat to others.

A diagram developed in the mid-1930s by the Austrian mathematician Karl Menger helps clear up this confusion. He divided people's characters into four basic categories, depending on whether they are easily hurt or not, and whether they tend to hurt others or not (see figure 1).

Menger then analyzed what combinations of characters can or cannot get along with each other. Considerate people who try to avoid hurting others yet are not easily offended (type 1) can get along with everybody. People who are rude but not easily offended (type 2) can only get along with others who are not easily hurt either (types 1 and 2). People who are easily hurt but do

not hurt others (type 3) can only get along with people who do not hurt others (types 1 and 3). Most difficult are people who are easily offended, "thin-skinned," yet abrasive (type 4). They cannot even stand others of the same character type. Only type 1 people can deal with them. We all may have encountered such people in our lives.

To best manage our relations with others, we should be strong in the sense of not being easily hurt, but not strong in the sense of hurting others.

Figure 1

	Easily hurt	Not easily hurt
Not hurting others	3) polite, but easily offended	1) Most pleasant character
Hurting others	4) Most difficult character	2) impolite, but not easily offended

Relations between nations follow similar patterns. One can divide nations into four analogous categories, depending on whether or not they are aggressive and/or vulnerable. Any such categorization is, of course, a gross simplification, but it can nevertheless help clarify our thinking (see figure 2).

To be most secure we should not simply be "strong" or "weak," but strong in the sense of being able to defend ourselves if necessary, yet non-aggressive, and even better, totally incapable of aggression. What we cannot do, we certainly will not do. To convince other nations that we have no aggressive aims, it is not enough to simply say so.

Common Security. In light of this, much of the current security debate misses the point. The question is not simply whether we should make greater or lesser efforts for defense. The question is what *types* of ef-

forts should be made. Purely defensive measures are legitimate and necessary until mutual disarmament can be negotiated. But building offensive capabilities is not only unnecessary, it is counterproductive. It invites counterthreats, thus reducing our own security.

We cannot be secure as long as we make others feel insecure. Only a strategy for *common security* can protect us.

What does this imply? I would define as purely defensive measures those that increase our own security without reducing the security of any other nation. Measures that threaten the security of others without improving our own security are purely offensive. Clearly there is a gray area in between, but there also exist some unambiguously offensive or defensive measures.

Anything *immobile*, such as a tank trap, a

fortress, even a lake or forest, which can impede aggression but cannot be used to carry out aggression, is defensive. Bombers and armored units with long-range mobility that can advance into an adversary's territory offer offensive capabilities. Anti-aircraft guns in *fixed positions* are defensive, but if one mounts them on ships, as Indonesia did to shoot at coastal villages on East Timor, they become offensive.

A defensive posture that does not pose a threat to other nations has been called "non-offensive" or "non-provocative." I prefer to call it "protective," emphasizing what it is rather than what it is not.

The question immediately arises: Isn't Star Wars a defensive system? Not as currently planned. Former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger pushed for Star Wars funding, arguing that if the Soviet Union had such a system first it would pose a grave threat to the United States. If it poses

a threat, it is not purely defensive by definition. Why would it pose a threat to us? If the Soviet Union had an effective defense against nuclear weapons it could apply nuclear blackmail against the United States without fear of retaliation. Of course, the same is true in the reverse. This is one reason for Soviet concern about Star Wars. It is not a purely defensive system.

A New NATO Strategy? What relevance has a protective conventional defense for the United States? After all, the United States is not threatened by an invasion from Canada or Mexico.

However, the United States would be more secure if its allies provided for their own defense instead of relying on the U.S. nuclear arsenal. The current NATO strategy of "flexible response," which allows for the first use of nuclear weapons against

defensive strategy is that *if* there is a war, offensive forces make it possible to carry the fighting into the territory of the other side, unlike a defense from the borders inward. But this is the wrong premise from which to start. More important is how war can be prevented, or, if it should ever start, how it can be de-escalated rapidly.

An offensive posture invites pre-emptive attacks. For example, Israel and Egypt both possessed vulnerable offensive bomber fleets in the 1960s. When tensions arose in 1967, Israel felt pressured to destroy Egyptian bombers in a surprise attack out of fear that otherwise its fleet might suffer the same fate.

An offensive posture also tends to lead to an escalation of war. The United States is currently trying to persuade its NATO allies to adopt the AirLand Battle doctrine

40 percent of its defense budget currently allocated to NATO.

Is protective defense a realistic strategy or mere wishful thinking? The military policies of Sweden and Switzerland, the only two countries that have not been at war since the end of the Napoleonic period, show that such a strategy works. Both countries have maintained a strong defense within their borders, but have carefully avoided posing any threat to others.

Of course, protective defense can be only one among many components of a comprehensive strategy to reduce tensions and solve conflicts nonviolently.

The principal advantage of a protective defense posture is that by shifting to it a country can unilaterally reduce the threat of war for itself and everyone else without having to wait for a negotiated agreement. Complete disarmament requires mutual agreement, and as Kenneth Boulding once remarked, agreement is a scarce resource. Independent initiatives can help break the current deadlock.

Peace Movement Initiatives. What implications does this have for a strategy for the peace movement? We have been accused of being quick at criticizing what we oppose, but slow in offering credible alternatives. Protective defense for common security is a strategy for war prevention we can support. It addresses the concerns of both camps, those who worry about security and those who want peace. Therefore it can provide a basis for a broad coalition.

If we want to reach the public more effectively, we must allay their fears. Protective defense can be a key element of an alternative vision.

We could begin by creating small study groups to inform ourselves about alternative defense concepts, develop them further through discussions, and reach out to the public, not only by telling them what we think is right, but also by listening to their concerns and ideas.

We should not depend on the traditional political and military elites to find a way out of the nuclear predicament. That would be as if the abolitionists had waited for the slave traders and slave owners to take the lead in abolishing slavery. If we want to regain our security we must seize the initiative and build an irresistible popular movement for global survival. □

Dietrich Fischer, currently an SSRC/MacArthur Fellow at the Center of International Studies at Princeton University, is a member of the Exploratory Project on the Conditions of Peace (EXPRO) and author of Preventing War in the Nuclear Age. This article is based on portions of that book.

Figure 2

	Vulnerable	Invulnerable
Nonaggressive	3) "Soft" posture	1) Safest posture
Aggressive	4) Most dangerous posture	2) "Hard-line" posture

a conventional attack, could draw the world into a nuclear war. Such a suicidal threat may perhaps deter deliberate aggression. But a premeditated attack is not the only way in which a war can start—not even the most likely one. Wars have also started by accident, misunderstanding, or have escalated from a small incident in a climate of tension. The first use of nuclear weapons cannot protect us against these dangers. It would only lead to the destruction of both sides.

Some have argued that nuclear weapons have kept the peace since 1945. Facts suggest otherwise. Each one of the five nuclear powers has been involved in a series of wars since the end of World War II. None of the six neutral countries in Europe, which do not rely on any country's nuclear "umbrella," have been involved in a single war in the same period.

An often heard objection to a purely de-

that calls for deep penetrations into Eastern Europe in the event of an attack by the Warsaw Pact. If both sides try to push the fighting back onto the territory of the other side, any small border incident, even an accidental border violation, could rapidly escalate into a big war.

Some critics claim that a protective defense posture would cost much more than nuclear deterrence. In fact it costs less. But even if it did cost more it would still be preferable because it reduces the risk of war. Defense spending is 2.5 percent of the gross national product for the European neutral nations, 3.3 percent of GNP for non-nuclear NATO members, and considerably higher for each of the five nuclear powers, ranging from 4.2 percent for France to an estimated 12 percent for the Soviet Union. Furthermore, if Western Europe took care of its own defense, the United States could save the approximately

PEDAL POLITICS

TWO RECENT COLLEGE GRADUATES TAKE TO THE ROAD TO PROMOTE NONVIOLENT ALTERNATIVES FOR DEFENSE

Fresh out of college, a degree in peace studies, ambitious, idealistic, no money. What does one do? Send off a few dozen resumes? Join the Peace Corps? Take a year off?

Dominic Kulik, 23, and David Yaskulka, 25, decided to take a year "on." With little more than their knapsacks and a pair of 10-speed bikes, the two completed a year-long, 10,000-mile odyssey, promoting common security and nonviolent defense on college campuses across the country.

Kulik and Yaskulka's "Gaudino Project"—named for the late Robert Gaudino, a Williams College professor who espoused nonviolence—took them from Old Bridge, New Jersey; south to Florida; west to San Diego; north to Seattle; over the Rockies to Missoula, Montana; and east to Philadelphia. In all, the pair covered 5,000 miles on their bikes (they hitch-hiked the other 5,000), and visited 27 college campuses and 33 states before returning home last October. At each stop, they organized student workshops and meetings with community activists in churches, peace organizations and environmental groups to spread their ideas about nonviolence and alternative security.

Why on bicycles? Kulik and Yaskulka describe it as "pedal politics"—a grassroots approach to peace issues. "People are suspicious of slick packaging when it comes to issues of peace," says Kulik. "It was a way of getting people's trust."

Kulik and Yaskulka, both recent graduates of Williams College, in Williamstown, Massachusetts, are trying to disseminate what they call the "positive agenda" of alternative security thought. That agenda counters what Kulik and Yaskulka see as the generally narrow view of security that focuses on the Soviet Union as a hostile external threat. They instead emphasize the economic and social bases of stability, the need to strengthen international law and international mechanisms for resolving conflicts, and the development of nonviolent, civilian-based defense.

The pair's intellectual mentors include alternative security theorists Hal Harvey, of the Rocky Mountain Institute, and Gene Sharp, of the Harvard Nonviolent Sanctions Program. Like Harvey, they believe



Dominic Kulik: One half of the Gaudino Project hits a straightaway in Wyoming.

that "internal threats" such as poverty, crime, homelessness and illiteracy, undermine national security as much as any foreign threat. Like Sharp, they advocate "nonviolent defense."

But Kulik and Yaskulka put a distinctively "student" spin on alternative security, through what they call a "pedagogy of empowerment." The approach challenges what Kulik calls the "passive learning models" of traditional higher education and the citizen disenfranchisement it engenders. Instead, Kulik and Yaskulka urge students to develop their own student-run courses around principles of alternative security, with an eye toward later involvement as citizens in a more democratically run defense policy.

"When we try to become politically active, we find there is a problem of entrenched conditioned passivity that traces back to the classroom," says Kulik. "One of our goals is empowerment. We use models that prepare us to be active citizens in the community."

Soft-spoken but earnest, Kulik and Yaskulka call themselves "practical idealists." Their approach has sparked enthusiasm in the communities and colleges they have visited. "I couldn't be more excited,"

says Kathleen Weigert, associate director of the University of Notre Dame's Center for Social Concerns and a fellow at the Institute for International Peace Studies (IIPS). "Higher education is very hierarchical. They're modelling a way that never gets taught. Anybody who believes in citizen action would like to see this sort of thing."

At IIPS, half-a-dozen students who took part in Kulik and Yaskulka's workshops last fall have decided to start their own student-run course on nonviolence and alternative security this spring. Elsewhere, Gaudino Project workshops have spawned similar student-run courses that have become part of the official curriculum.

Yaskulka and Kulik are now turning their efforts toward establishing a permanent base of operations for their work. Their Center for Common Security, operating on a shoestring budget funded by foundations and Williams College, will house a research center and library in Williamstown. It will also publish a national newsletter and act as a clearinghouse to coordinate research on alternative security with curriculum development at colleges around the country. The Rocky Mountain Institute, Harvard's Nonviolent

Sanctions Program and Randall Forsberg's Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies will be major contributors.

Hoping to start new student-run courses in at least 10 major colleges, Kulik and Yaskulka are also planning to make another workshop tour. But this time, they say, they've budgeted \$6,000 to buy a car, and the bikes will stay at home. □

CHRISTINE WING

A CRITIQUE OF COMMON SECURITY

NEW CONCEPT DOES LITTLE
TO BUILD A MOVEMENT

There is a lot of talk about "common security" in the disarmament movement these days. In some ways common security sounds good. Its supporters argue that no one nation can be secure if another feels insecure. They want the movement to go beyond a narrow focus on nuclear weapons and call not only for nuclear disarmament but also for reductions in conventional forces, limits on superpower intervention and new ways of resolving conflict between nations.

It is important to develop alternative ideas of how the world might function without nuclear weapons and superpower intervention. Anyone who has ever given a talk on nuclear disarmament knows the value of having an answer to the question, "But what are the alternatives?"

Yet as a response to the strategic dilemma of the disarmament movement, common security is seriously flawed.

The common security approach is too broad to give the movement practical advice about the short- and medium-term objectives it should adopt.

Moreover, common security proponents do not root their analysis in the power relations in the United States and what it will take to change U.S. policy. They do not ask: "What kind of a political force is required to transform U.S. policy?" "Should we organize among potential progressive allies or focus our energies on winning over 'moderates?'" "Is a common security regime in the interest of U.S. decision makers or will they oppose these goals?"

Supporters of the common security approach have not yet addressed these questions. Although common security is supposed to explain the political underpinnings of the nuclear arms race, its proponents have abstracted security issues from real political considerations.

This problem is apparent when we look at the programmatic suggestions of com-



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mon security proponents. For example, some advocates argue the movement should focus on education, broaden the debate on security questions and build a consensus for common security.

But who will be educated? And what role will they play in bringing about the changes we want? Do we want to broaden the debate on the editorial pages of *The New York Times*? Within the Democratic Party and/or the peace movement? Is the goal to change elite opinion or mobilize a movement? Common security might lead in any of these directions.

Education is important, but pouring resources into education campaigns is a mistake. By analogy, it would be as if the women's movement decided to hold a series of conferences on abortion in response to the Bork nomination. For years public opinion has favored freedom of choice. The problem for the women's movement is not ill-informed voters, but powerful forces that oppose reproductive freedom, forces that have mounted an aggressive campaign to undermine it. The women's movement must find ways to implement the views held by a majority of the public. Education will be part of that task, but there must be a focus on gaining power.

Much the same is true of proposals for policy changes, such as establishing a non-interventionary regime—one important goal for common security proponents. It would be wonderful if the superpowers agreed to stop military intervention in the Third World. But the United States has a long history of bipartisan commitment to intervention. To propose that we start organizing for a non-intervention agreement, in the absence of any discussion of the political reality of such a demand, is not helpful. It is mystifying and diversionary.

Any effort to develop new disarmament strategies must begin with a serious look at our present situation. Although that is a large undertaking, any strategic analysis should address two problems: elite control of U.S. policy and the rightward shift in the views of this elite.

First, for more than a century successive U.S. administrations have pursued politics that serve the economic, political and ideological interests of those with the most power in the country. Those who benefit from the exercise of U.S. power preserve their influence in a variety of ways. By controlling the finances, candidate selection process and administrative machinery of the two major political parties, the U.S. economic elite shapes the nation's political agenda. Through substantial control of the mass media, this elite plays a major role in shaping public opinion.

Although there are differences within the elite, the range of debate is limited and there is bipartisan agreement on the outlines of U.S. foreign policy.

Second, within the last 10 to 15 years, there has been a significant shift to the right among those who hold power and make policy, and a corresponding decrease in the power of organized labor and the poor. In

Common security is seriously flawed. It is too broad to offer practical solutions for short- and medium-term objectives.

their book *Right Turn*, Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers argue that business interests that once benefited from a high-wage economy, substantial social programs, détente with the Soviet Union and a reduction in defense spending, found themselves in the 1970s facing a squeeze on profits, shrinking international and domestic markets and an urban fiscal crisis.

These problems led many in the business community to withdraw its support for the Democratic Party. It was this loss of support, not a shift in public opinion, that helped elect Ronald Reagan. The Democrats responded by becoming even more conservative. And the enormous financial resources available to right-wing groups made opposition more difficult.

Thus, in recent years the political environment for our work, always difficult, became worse. The deepening economic crisis will likely increase the pressures from the political and economic elite to support right-wing solutions.

It is in this context that we need to ask, "How can change happen? What are the prospects for change?" Any proposal for a national disarmament campaign must address these questions. It is not enough simply to set desirable goals. If we propose an educational strategy to change grassroots opinion, we also have to challenge the media. If we propose a legislative strategy, we have to discuss how we can elect a moderate progressive majority in Congress.

I believe that a major component in any

disarmament strategy must be broad movement-building. Real progress toward disarmament (and common security) cannot proceed faster than a broader progressive agenda. We must help build a broader progressive movement while we work on short-term policy objectives.

Such a movement is most likely to draw support from communities of color, feminists, some segments of labor, gays and lesbians, low-income people and small farmers. A top priority should be to strengthen our work with these communities at both the local and national level. Our short-term objectives should always be defined in a way that helps us do that.

What about a new campaign for the disarmament movement?

For the past three years, we have been struggling to define such a campaign, like the Freeze, that will pull everyone together. But it has not emerged. I think this means that the time is not right for a single, unifying campaign—whether organized around common security or some other platform. This is not to say that a nationwide campaign will not be appropriate at some future date. But not now.

There are also important unanswered questions in the common security approach itself. Are we talking about the security of nations or of people? Do all nations really have a right to security? Does the interstate system itself contribute to common security? Would economic sanctions against South Africa contribute to common security? What about the growth of Solidarity-type movements in Eastern Europe? Or the creation of a Palestinian state? These issues need further development if common security is to guide our thinking on international security.

In the meantime, we still have much to do. There is important work underway that directly challenges U.S. militarism, such as actions against testing or arms shipments. We can develop concrete strategies to reduce the risk of nuclear war in the Middle East and Korea. People confronting the U.S. military presence in other parts of the world need our active support. All these efforts would be aided by greater coordination and an infusion of support from national peace organizations.

Finally, we face an urgent analytical and organizational tasks: What are our objective circumstances? And how are we going to build our power? By answering these questions we will find the real path to common security. □

Christine Wing is national co-director of the disarmament program of the American Friends Service Committee.

"We want to accomplish the conversion of Honeywell [into a non-military corporation]," Seymour continues. "But that isn't, in the end, what we want, which is the conversion of the entire military-industrial complex. We can't see that happening without something akin to a fundamental social revolution. And the only way that can take place is to get a lot of people committed to working in the movement over a long period of time." Civil disobedience, he says, is an indispensable means of drawing people into the movement and increasing their commitment.

A Higher Law

And then there are the Plowshares, whom many in the peace movement look to for moral inspiration. Following the teachings of Daniel and Philip Berrigan, the Plowshares argue that individual acts of unilateral disarmament are possible, and that such acts, although invariably destructive of property, are blameless under God's law and international law.

The bomb is not property, they assert; it is a form of contraband that anyone has the right to seize and destroy in the name of humanity. Consequently, they reject the label "civil disobedience" for their deeds. As Sister Anne Montgomery, who joined with the Berrigans in the very first Plowshares disarmament action in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, in 1980, writes: "The term 'disobedience' is not appropriate because any law that does not protect and enhance human life is no real law." Similarly, the term "civil" has become meaningless, she notes, "because it implies faith in the system's openness to change." Instead, the Plowshares prefer to call their anti-nuclear vigilantism "divine obedience."

"If there's criminality involved, it's contained in the threat that exists to all life because of these weapons," adds Elmer Maas, who spent 18 months in prison for hammering on Mark 12A missile nose cones in the same Plowshares action. "These acts are not culpable under the common law definition of necessity, and in fact they're required under international law."

Plowshares activists are generally less concerned about their fate in court or their coverage in the media or their impact on Washington than they are about acquitting their consciences with respect to weapons. "They operate," as one peace worker puts it, "on a different teleological plane."

A case in point is Gregory Boertje, a former U.S. Army lieutenant whose work with nuclear weapons led him to seek and win a

discharge as a conscientious objector. Later, while attending graduate school in Louisiana, he took courses on religious pacifism given by guest lecturer Daniel Berrigan at the Center for Disarmament Education in New Orleans.

"That changed my life," says Boertje, "and moved me more toward civil disobedience." He became a peace activist and spent a year in jail for participating in a 1985 Plowshares action. In October 1987, after going through two hung juries and a mistrial, he was convicted again in the fourth Epiphany Plowshares trial. Now awaiting sentencing, Boertje faces up to 15 and-a-half years in prison and up to \$700,000 in fines and restitution penalties. He says he will not appeal.

Appeals and lawyers require "a lot of money and time and energy," he explains. "And we don't see ourselves promoting that. We are interested in promoting resistance to nuclear weapons. We want people to disarm, to take up these actions, not get involved in the appeals process."

Of the effectiveness of his acts, he says, "Our goal is not necessarily effectiveness. Our goal is to be faithful to the truth. These weapons are an abomination and we have to witness to that." The Plowshares, he adds, subscribe to Gandhi's precept of "doing the right thing, the truthful thing and then letting go of the consequences"—what Gandhi described as "renouncing the fruits of action."

For many in the anti-nuclear movement, that act of renunciation has become a way of life, drawing them closer in spirit to Soren Kierkegaard's "knight of infinite faith" who pursues the impossible, aware of its impossibility, and yet by a leap of faith believes that he or she will achieve it. In 42 years, only infinitesimal progress has been made on arms control and on disarmament and the no less urgent matter of stopping nuclear proliferation.

"I don't think President Reagan is going to the [bargaining] table to sign an INF agreement because of the people who engage in civil disobedience," notes the executive from a major peace foundation—a view that is probably accurate. Not a single missile has been dismantled as a result of activities of the Bangor blockades or APT or any other anti-nuclear group practicing civil disobedience. So, in that sense, the strategy has failed. But then who could have imagined that a young Indian lawyer in South Africa reading Tolstoy and Thoreau would one day liberate a subcontinent nonviolently? At the very least, these activists remind us that preventing nuclear war is today the number one item on the human agenda. □

Rolodex

American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102, (215) 241-7000.

American Peace Test, Box 26725, Las Vegas, Nevada 89126, (702) 363-7780.

Catholic Worker, 3 Catholic Worker, 36 East First Street, New York, New York 10012.

Center on Law and Pacifism, P.O. Box 1584, Colorado Springs, Colorado 80901, (303) 636-0041.

Conscience and Military Tax Campaign, U.S., 44 Bellhaven Road, Bellport, New York 11713, (516) 286-8825.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271 Nyack, New York 10960.

Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Road NW, Poulsbo, Washington 98370, (206) 692-7053.

Honeywell Project, Meridel LeSueur Center for Peace and Justice, 1929 South Fifth Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55454, (612) 339-3524.

Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, a peace resource and research center (publishes a unique "peace law" docket of cases, rulings, charges and defenses in state and federal peace law cases from 1946 to the present), Box 673, Berkeley, California 94701, (415) 849-1338.

Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, New York, New York 10003, (212) 995-8787.

National Action-Research on the Military-Industrial Complex, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102.

National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, supplies information on war-tax resistance and publishes *Network News*, P.O. Box 85810, Seattle, Washington 98145, (216) 522-4377.

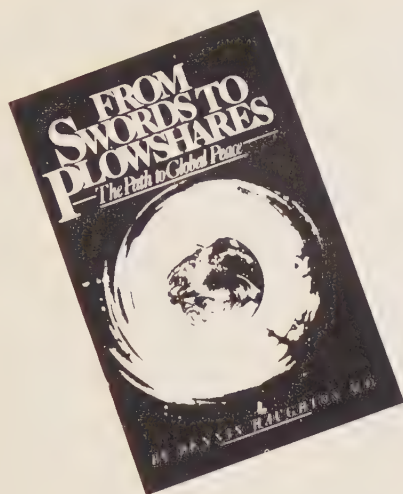
The Nuclear Resister, (\$15 per year for 10 issues), P.O. Box 43383, Tucson, Arizona 85733, (602) 323-8697.

Nukewatch, (monitors transportation of nuclear warheads and components by truck over U.S. highways), 220 I Street, Suite 130, Washington, D.C. 20002.

Plowshares Defense Fund, 113 University Place, New York, New York 10003, (212) 226-4151.

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HEART/Continued from page 16

sentiment—to its advantage in a Star Wars fight. Based on his reading of public opinion, Greenberg would attack Star Wars as a wasteful, elitist project that prevents us from rebuilding America.

There is already strong sentiment about waste in government. Most people, Greenberg says, "believe that there could be massive reductions in military spending by cutting out the waste." When they think of military "waste," most people think of expensive hammers and gilt-edged toilet seats. But they are open to thinking about military waste more broadly.

"Star Wars has to be seen as part of the waste," Greenberg says. "I don't think it is a very difficult argument to make. I think we can make the argument that fundamental American interests are being neglected because we are wasting money on Star Wars, and we can make it more effectively in the case of Star Wars than we can in the case of toilet seats.

"I don't mind using waste as an issue, even though Star Wars waste is small in terms of the overall military budget," adds Greenberg. "By fighting waste here, it enhances our position on military spending

issues generally."

Star Wars is also an issue that "can be seen as elitist in character," Greenberg says. By attacking it as a system that "does not really protect the masses, we can draw on populist sentiment. Again, the terrain is favorable to us. And we can link this sentiment, which is widespread, to other progressive issues."

The peace movement can likewise use Star Wars to advance a positive alternative to wasteful military spending. "We want to make the argument that the massive arms buildup, which Star Wars is part of, is coming at the expense of revitalizing America. This argument taps into an important feeling that is already strong in the present period," Greenberg argues.

"The imagery of mad scientists and mad bureaucrats creating an ineffectual, trillion-dollar weapons system while kids aren't being educated, there aren't any child nutrition programs or enough day care, bridges and highways need repair, and we are not competing with the Japanese, is not a bad polarization of the issue," he says. "Mobilizing requires bad guys, and Star Wars brings out the bad guys. Therefore, it offers much greater possibilities for mobilizing than other issues." □

CORN FLAKES AND PERSHING'S

Focus groups were developed by Madison Avenue advertisers to find out what consumers really thought about breakfast cereals, laundry detergents and the advertising campaigns used to sell them. Stanley Greenberg and other pollsters have borrowed the technique, refined it, and used it to find out what voters think about nuclear war, the Soviet Union, and peace movement campaigns to end the arms race.

To get at public attitudes using a focus group approach, Greenberg assembles a tough audience. He wants members of focus groups to have critical views. So, for example, if he wants to explore attitudes about aid to the contras, he recruits eight or 10 Republicans from conservative congressional districts in the Midwest. He does not ask liberal Democrats in Santa Monica to attend.

After assembling the paid group, a trained moderator stimulates and directs discussion of the issue, asking questions, handing out writing assignments (which are used to check the

depth of feeling on particular questions), exploring answers and keeping the conversation on track. The idea is to create a situation in which participants can freely discuss their feelings and opinions. Because men tend to dominate discussions in mixed gender groups, Greenberg assembles all male or all female groups, which are usually moderated by members of the same sex. (Women sometimes moderate men's groups, but men are not asked to moderate women's groups.) Sessions are videotaped for subsequent review. After this process is repeated with other groups in different cities around the United States, the transcripts and tapes are collated, the discussions analyzed and a report written.

Because most of Greenberg's work is commissioned by private groups, the reports he writes are not widely available. One summary of his recent work, "Looking Toward '88: The Politics of American Identity," appears in the Fall 1987 issue of *World Policy Journal*. Other studies, "Kids as Politics," "Contra Aid: American Antipathy to Foreign Engagement," and "Military Defense and Economic Decline" are published by The Analysis Group, 588 East Street, New Haven, CT 06511. —R.S.

BOOKS

Hope in Hard Times by Paul Rogat Loeb (\$10.95, 322 pages, Lexington Books, 1987). *Hope in Hard Times*, subtitled "America's Peace Movement and the Reagan Era," gives us both a micro and macro view of the most recent incarnation of the peace movement. First Paul Loeb introduces us to a wide range of local, "ordinary heroes" and then he discusses the various obstacles facing them in their quest for a more peaceful world.

Loeb, author of *Nuclear Culture*, spent four years crisscrossing the country to bring to us in the first half of his book vivid, detailed portraits of movement activists in Minnesota, South Carolina, California, New England and in his home state of Washington [see "Acts of Conscience" on page 22 for an updated report on actions in Washington state]. We get to know these people, the "foot soldiers" of the peace movement, many of whom were never previously involved in politics. We learn about their hopes, their fears, and their commitment to something larger than themselves in an era generally characterized by gross materialism.

In the book's second section, Loeb takes up the many questions that dog the peace movement. Which strategies are the most fruitful? How does the movement balance electoral politics with grassroots movement-building? How can the movement best use the media? How does it deal with anti-communism? The Cold War? "Psychic numbing"? And he makes these questions concrete by cross-referencing them with the activists he introduced earlier.

Loeb has provided a valuable service by taking us beyond two-minute television reports and five-inch newspaper articles to show that the American peace movement is made up of "ordinary" people—you, me and our next-door neighbors—who have risen up to do extraordinary deeds. Although the book is a bit long-winded, and at times—especially in the chapter on Los Angeles—the reader needs a scorecard to keep track of all the people interviewed, we recommend it highly. —Elliott Negin

Conventional Deterrence by John J. Mearsheimer (\$12.95, 296 pages, Cornell University Press, 1983). In *Conventional*

Deterrence, John Mearsheimer challenges the view that the Warsaw Pact's conventional force superiority over NATO jeopardizes deterrence in Europe. He argues that it is crucial to examine the type of military strategy a potential attacker plans to employ, rather than merely count types and numbers of weapons, to determine whether deterrence will work.

Mearsheimer outlines the three basic conventional military strategies—attrition, limited aims and blitzkrieg—and asks whether each is likely to encourage or deter aggression. To support his theory, Mearsheimer explains how each type of battle would be fought and explores the nitty-gritty of war to answer the question: what set of military circumstances would lead a nation to attack?

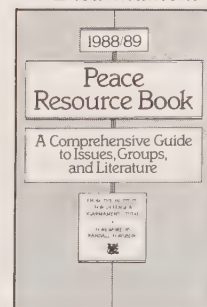
In applying his theory to the European case, Mearsheimer comes up with some unconventional conclusions. After reading this book, it is easy to see that simplistic "bean-counting" theories of deterrence are insufficient.

Mearsheimer pays too little attention to the synergy between conventional and nuclear war-fighting strategies. However, his book aims specifically to analyze the conventional component of European deterrence. In this endeavor, Mearsheimer adds a needed new perspective to the deterrence debate. —Nancy Latham

Ban the Bomb: A History of SANE, 1957-85 by Milton S. Katz (\$12.95, 215 pages, Greenwood Press, 1985). Milton Katz recounts the history of SANE's fight against nuclear weapons, anti-communist purges, splits over the Vietnam War, decline and rise in the 1970s and attempts to merge with various groups during the years prior to its merger with the Freeze. Katz is content to describe SANE's activities and debates (with altogether too much emphasis on the agenda and attendance of countless meetings) and is reluctant to analyze its contentious history. This makes it difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of SANE's policies or programs or draw any lessons from its hard-won experience. Still, *Ban the Bomb* is a solid description of a much-transformed but durable organization. —Robert Schaeffer

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NETWORK

ORGANIZATION NEWS AND COMMENT



SANE/FREEZE's Robert Musil and Thomas Siegel, and Erica Gimpel from the TV show FAME give a press conference in Moscow during their Filmmakers Exchange tour last October.

SANE/FREEZE

Making the International Connection

Leaders of SANE/FREEZE spent part of last fall traveling to Europe and the Soviet Union to develop a new international focus for the group. Co-directors Carolyn Cottom and David Cortright, Director of Communications Bob Musil, and board member Cora Weiss met with leaders of peace organizations in Belgium, West Germany and the Soviet Union.

Cortright & the Greens. In October, David Cortright spoke to leaders of the Green Party in Bonn, West Germany. The Green Party is an opposition party that emphasizes peace and environmental issues. Cortright called the INF agreement a first step: "[An INF accord] will eliminate an entire class of weapons and reduce the world's nuclear stockpile by some 2,000 warheads.... [It] is an agreement the peace movement should support. The INF treaty is our victory: a tribute to all who have worked and sacrificed for peace."

Cruising for Peace. Last July, Carolyn

Cottom sailed on the Volga River Peace Cruise, which was organized by Promoting Enduring Peace. More than 100 Americans went on the trip and at stops along the way they met Soviet peace committee members, held rallies and toured local towns.

"We were able to interact with Soviet people in a very unstructured way," said Cottom. "When we stopped in Volgograd an older woman—a 'babushka'—came up to me. She was wearing a rhinestone pin. I gave her one of the pins from the cruise. She started crying and gave me her rhinestone pin from her coat and said 'peace and friendship.'"

Cottom noted that the Freeze Campaign used to have an international coordinator, but the focus was mainly on Europe. Now, she said, "the political climate in the Soviet Union gives us an opportunity to take leadership in people-to-people interactions."

Hollywood Goes to Russia. Bob Musil traveled to the Soviet Union with the Filmmakers Exchange, spending a week in Moscow and four days in Leningrad last October. The group included a video crew and actors Judd Nelson, Helen Hunt, Kecia Lewis Evans, Esai Morales, Craig Sheffer

and Tim Ransome. The trip [see Network section in the November/December 1987 issue of *Nuclear Times*] gave the actors an opportunity to meet with their Soviet counterparts and help produce a video for high schools in the United States.

In addition to official visits to MosFilm and LenFilm—two leading Soviet film production houses—the group did an improvisational theater performance with Soviet actors at a Moscow cafe theater. They also attended a rock concert and held a jam session with Soviet singers.

Musil said the effects of *glasnost* and *perestroika* were apparent at a circus performance the U.S. delegation attended. "The clowning acts included a bit where a clown was hit in the head by a microphone because he didn't know what to say—a take off on the old days when everything had to be cleared. And a bomb coming down from the ceiling turned into a dove."

If It's Tuesday. Meanwhile, Cora Weiss was in Brussels, Belgium on October 25 to speak at a rally against nuclear testing, Star Wars, and military-dominated national budgets. The demonstration, which attracted 100,000 people, was organized by a coalition of 30 West European peace organizations. It was the coalition's fifth major demonstration in the last several years, and the first one featuring a speaker from the U.S. peace movement.

"The world waits breathlessly for the two superpower leaders to meet at the summit and to agree to an INF treaty," she told the crowd. "That moment could signal the beginning of the end of the cold war. It could signal the first step in the direction of disarmament." She urged the demonstrators to stop their governments from "roll[ing] in the tanks and guns to replace the missiles."

Weiss was back in Europe in December to attend Costa Rican President Oscar Arias's Nobel Peace Prize presentation. She sees such trips by SANE/FREEZE members, as well as members of other U.S. groups, as crucial to broadening the scope of the U.S. peace movement. "If nothing else," she said, "I want to see the merger of SANE/FREEZE lead to a greater international perspective and communication for our movement."

Weiss's visit to Brussels has already led to plans for women members of the European Parliament to visit the United States in 1988. Furthermore, this spring SANE/FREEZE will sponsor a conference in Washington, D.C. for European peace activists and political leaders to discuss the INF Treaty and long-range nuclear strategy. The recently merged organization also plans to initiate more peace-oriented exchanges with the Soviet Union.

For more information, contact SANE/FREEZE, 711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 544-0880 or (202) 546-7100.

ADPSR

Soviet Architects Tour the United States

Following a whirlwind tour of downtown Los Angeles, Yuri Platonov, president of the U.S.S.R. Union of Architects and leader of a delegation of four high-ranking Soviet architects, reported that he was impressed by what he had seen.

"[The construction quality] is superior to what we have in the U.S.S.R.," said Platonov, "and we need to do a lot of catching up in this area. The primary reason for the gap is [the difference in] the follow-up between the design and construction phases in the two countries . . ."

Platonov said that efforts by Soviet architects to confront these and other problems are supported by both the public, which is "fed up" with the old architecture and building traditions, and by current national leadership. He noted that a meeting had taken place on September 20 between high-ranking architects and Soviet leaders, including Mikhail Gorbachev, and a statement was issued that "architecture must express the changes that are currently underway in the social order."

By publicly and privately discussing these changes in the Soviet Union, the Soviet architects attempted to show to their American hosts around the country the extent to which *glasnost* has become a welcomed reality, not just media hype, in their professional lives.

In addition to Platonov, the delegation included Alexandre Koudryavtsev, dean of the Moscow School of Architecture; Sergey Kisselyev, chief architect of the All-Union State Scientific Research and Design Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science; and Jim Torosyan, professor of architecture at the Yerevan Polytechnical School in Armenia.

During their two-week U.S. visit the delegation also spoke of how the mere fact that discussions have taken place between

U.S. and Soviet architects is significant because it is new. They found there were similar professional goals and concerns. One point of difference they often found, however, is that knowledge of contemporary Soviet architecture in the United States is extremely limited while the Soviets are very aware of developments here.

The Soviet delegation returned to Moscow from New York on October 25, following a cross-country visit that included stops in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Washington, D.C. The trip was sponsored by Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR), a national peace organization with chapters throughout the country. Highlights of the visit included a Capitol Hill reception hosted by Rep. Robert Toricelli (D-N.J.) and a private meeting with Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles.

The delegation's tour concluded with the signing of an agreement between ADPSR/National and the U.S.S.R. Union of Architects. This agreement calls for exchanges between the two countries of exhibitions, students, faculty, practitioners and critics; the designing and building of joint construction projects in each country; and a pledge campaign that asks design professionals in each country to reject work that contributes to the nuclear arms race.

The invitation to the Soviet architects was extended following a visit to the Soviet Union in May 1986 by an ADPSR/National delegation, which was hosted by the U.S.S.R. Union of Architects.

For further information, contact ADPSR at 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 431-3756.

AFSC

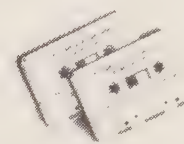
News from Western Europe

AFSC continues to maintain contact with many of the Western European peace movements. One member of our staff attended the October 23-25 meeting of International Peace Communication and Coordination Center in Brussels to discuss the then-pending INF agreement and peace movement strategy in its aftermath. The following joint declaration by the 37 affiliated groups summarizes their position:

The signing of the zero-zero agreement on medium-range nuclear missiles will be a historic event. It will prove that politicians could not remain insensitive to pressures from public opinion and peace movements. This is an agreement that the peace movements have been calling for as a step toward their goal of a nuclear-free Europe and a nuclear-free world.

Two Talks by Joan Bokaer:

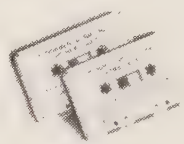
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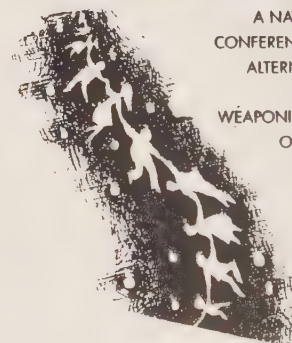
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The beginning of this process of disarmament coincides with another historic change: the opening of Soviet and Eastern European societies. This growing openness creates opportunities for more structural detente policies between East and West. In their own East-West contacts, peace movements have been stressing the importance of such developments during the past few years.

These two positive changes in the European political scene, however, have been met by ambiguous and even negative reactions from important parts of the West European political establishment, both from governments and political parties. Rather than stressing the necessity of further disarmament and detente initiatives, they stress the "need" to restore technical military thinking and the balance through modernization and introduction of new nuclear and conventional weapons.

Therefore, peace movements in Europe urgently call for governments to make good use of the political momentum by taking new initiatives for further disarmament and detente: We ask that the zero-option be applied to tactical nuclear weapons as well as medium-range weapons. An agreement must be reached on a ban of chemical weapons from European soil and a major reduction in conventional arms and forces. This must also include a clear sign of readiness from Eastern Europe to make reductions in its offensive conventional forces. This could include accepting a tank-free corridor along the East-West border. The presence of troops and bases on foreign soil in Eastern and Western Europe must be restricted. Instead of reinforcing European-American military links, Europe must try to stimulate an American detente policy.

Secondly, the disarmament process cannot be limited to Europe. The global strategic arms race must be stopped. They can begin by deep cuts in the strategic arms and by stopping all nuclear testing. The seas should not replace the land as a launching base for weapons, and space should be kept free of weapons, and there should be a global ban on chemical weapons.

Thanks to the current political situation in Europe there are new opportunities for disarmament and detente. Therefore we, as peace movements, stress the need for further political initiatives to create greater trust, disarmament, social justice and human rights in East and West and North and South. "Common security" must replace deterrence and confrontation. For Europe the implementation of the Helsinki agreements in their entirety must be a priority. The peace movements in Europe have

pledged to put some effort into this.

For more information contact the *American Friends Service Committee*, 1501 Cherry St, Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7000.

Coalition The Navy's MX Missile

The Trident D-5 missile is the only strategic weapon system that can change the balance of terror during the remainder of this century. The first D-5 flight test took place in January 1987 and the first D-5 missiles will be deployed on Trident submarines around 1990.

It is the Navy's MX. The D-5 and the MX will carry about the same nuclear explosive power, three megatons per missile. Like the real MX, which replaces the Air Force Minuteman missile, the D-5 will also replace an existing missile, the Navy's C-4. However, neither the new D-5 nor the MX will add significantly to the ability of the C-4 and Minuteman missiles to destroy civilization, a job that does not require state-of-art technology.

What the D-5 and the MX missiles will add is first-strike capability against Soviet strategic missiles, namely the increased accuracy and warhead-carrying capacity necessary to destroy Soviet ICBMs inside their own underground silos. (For that to happen, of course, the U.S. warheads must explode on Soviet soil before the Soviet missiles are launched.) But only the D-5 will be deployed in large enough numbers to make a difference. While Congress has limited the Air Force to 50 MX missiles deployed in Minuteman silos, the Navy is scheduled to deploy nearly 500 D-5 missiles on Trident submarines.

The Coalition has waged a five-year campaign for the cancellation of the D-5 missile program, but with no more than 25 percent of the Congress supporting cancellation the best prospect now seems to be a limitation on the number of missiles or warheads. Keeping the existing C-4 missiles on all eight of the presently operational Trident submarines, and putting new D-5 missiles only on the ninth and subsequent submarines, is the simplest way to limit the number of D-5 missiles. That proposal received 109 votes in the House last May 13, and there is still time to organize support for the idea in coming years.

Many members of Congress, including supporters of the D-5 missile, have recently become alarmed at the Reagan administration's plan to test the D-5 missile with 12 warheads instead of the usual eight. The Coalition opposes any increase in the num-

ber of warheads for obvious reasons, but some critics of the plan are worried for other reasons. Under present arms control counting rules, if a missile has been tested with 12 warheads all missiles of that type will be assumed to carry 12 warheads. Future arms control limits on nuclear warheads might require the Navy to deploy one-third fewer D-5 missiles if they are assumed to carry 12 warheads apiece rather than eight. Those who want fewer warheads thus have a chance to ally themselves with those who want the maximum number of missiles. Only those who want to abandon arms control altogether can wholeheartedly support the twelve-warhead version of the D-5.

Last September, Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), who has an otherwise good voting record on arms control, justified support for the D-5 missile: "The United States needs a stable deterrent force with state-of-the-art weaponry. The Trident II D-5 missile is just such a weapon. The fact that it has a first-strike capability does not mean we should not deploy it. Capability does not drive use. . . . It would be folly not to build a weapon just because it might be used in a first strike."

The fundamental assumption of arms control is that capability does drive use. While Congress cannot control what military commanders do with nuclear weapons in wartime (or even in peacetime for that matter), it can control what weapons they have at their disposal. The Coalition would like them to have as few D-5 missiles, with as few warheads, as is politically possible. There will be new votes in the spring.

For more information, contact the Coalition, 712 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-8400.

PSR

The Work Goes On

The anticipated removal of an entire class of nuclear weapons from a part of the world is a step in the right direction. But it is only one step, and many more must follow.

That is the message PSR has been sending out to its members, its chapters, the media, members of Congress and the general public in the weeks leading up to the U.S.-Soviet summit, and it is a message that will guide our work for months—perhaps years—to come.

What are the next steps? A comprehensive nuclear test ban, 50 percent reductions in strategic nuclear weapons, an agreement to keep weapons out of space—once the decision has been made to end our suicidal

reliance on nuclear weapons, any number of roads will open to the process of disarmament. The challenge to PSR and to other groups working on these issues will be to maintain the momentum provided by the INF Treaty and to focus public attention on a larger goal.



Maureen Thornton is new at PSR.

Part of that work will be done through better focused educational efforts on alternatives to the cycle of nuclear weapons production and deployment. The International Scientific Symposium on a Nuclear Test Ban, of which PSR is a principal sponsor, will evaluate the prospects for a halt to underground nuclear testing. PSR chapters across the country will host "house calls" on testing, Star Wars, the costs of the arms race and other topics.

Another activity that helped create the climate for the INF agreement—and that will be equally important in demonstrating the value of continued U.S.-Soviet cooperation—is the exchange of visits between U.S. and Soviet physicians. PSR's Fall 1987 Soviet Physician Tour took place in September and October, with event-filled visits to eight American cities. Tours are now being planned for the spring and fall of 1988.

Organizationally, PSR ended 1987 on one sad note, the departure of Jane Wales as executive director after five years of dedicated and fruitful leadership, and one happy note, the hiring of Maureen Thornton as our new executive director and general counsel. Maureen arrives at PSR after eight years at the League of Women Voters and promises to bring fresh vision and enthusiasm to our programmatic goals.

Mark your calendars and plan to attend: The International Scientific Symposium on

a Nuclear Test Ban in Las Vegas, Nevada on January 15 and 16, 1988; and PSR's Lobby Day, National Meeting and Awards Banquet in Washington, D.C. March 3, 4 and 5, 1988.

For more information, contact Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 939-5750.

ESR

Historic U.S.-Soviet Education Agreement Announced

When ESR's teacher delegation to the Soviet Union returned home last fall, they brought with them a major ESR-Soviet education agreement. The seven-point "Memorandum of Cooperation," signed by representatives of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Education, outlines plans to collaborate in developing materials and methods that will improve the ways Americans and Soviets teach their students about each other's countries.

"When ESR began its U.S.-Soviet Education Project," recalled ESR Executive Director Susan Alexander, "some people asked us, 'What good will it do to improve our education about the Soviet Union in this country if the Soviets have no parallel efforts?' This memorandum is concrete evidence that ESR has successfully raised awareness in high Soviet educational circles of the need to improve the teaching of their young people about the U.S. and issues related to the nuclear world."

Highlights of the memorandum are:

- collaborative ESR-Soviet development of nuclear-age education materials;
- twice-yearly teacher and student exchanges focused on nuclear-age education;
- a joint education videotape project, "A Day at U.S. Schools," paralleling "A Day at School in Moscow," distributed by ESR;
- a Soviet-American summer education camp for teachers and students to be held in alternate years in the United States and the Soviet Union;
- twice-yearly publication in our respective education journals of articles on nuclear-age education and how to improve the way we teach about each other.

Soviet education officials will visit the United States in the next few months to work out details of the memorandum.

Teachers Making a Difference. The ESR delegates who reached this unprecedented agreement with the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Education are all current or retired teachers at the elementary, secondary and university levels: John Freie (Syracuse/ESR), Susan Jones (Boston/ESR), Paula Paul (Philadel-

phia/ESR) Alan Shapiro (Metro New York/ESR) and Elise Turner (Santa Fe/ESR). Their mid-September visit to Moscow, Kiev and Riga took them to elementary and secondary classrooms, teachers colleges, Pioneer Palaces, and meetings with educational officials including the deputy minister of education for the Soviet Union.

The tour was a follow-up to last year's visit by two Soviet education officials to classrooms in six American cities (see *Nuclear Times*, January/February 1987).

While cautious about U.S.-Soviet differences in defining such concepts as "critical thinking" and "peace education," ESR delegation leader Alan Shapiro found "a number of Soviets who seem more open to dialogue and less certain they have all the truth."

For more information contact: *Educators for Social Responsibility*, Dept NT, 23 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 492-1746.

Peace Links

Peace Links with Soviet Women

On October 10, 1987, 20 Peace Links members began a 16-day trip to the Soviet Union. After meeting with women writers, farmers, public officials and others in five cities, the delegation concluded an agreement calling for further cooperation between Peace Links and the Soviet Women's Committee.

This agreement will be the basis for establishing direct contacts between local women's groups in the two countries. The groups also plan to organize exchanges between schools and civic organizations.

The Peace Links delegation, led by group founder Betty Bumpers of Arkansas, included women from cities and towns across the country. Among those on the tour were Elinor Bedell of Spirit Lake, Iowa, wife of former Rep. Berkley Bedell (D-Iowa); Barbara Levin, wife of Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) and director of the Women's Agenda for the Center for Defense Information; and Carol Williams, wife of Rep. Pat Williams (D-Mont.).

In addition to wives of members of Congress, local activists participated in the tour. Dee Rowland of Salt Lake City, Utah, who was interviewed in the July/August issue of *Nuclear Times*, was one of those on the tour who visited Leningrad.

"Our guide in Leningrad was an English translator who is currently working on 'Sophie's Choice,'" said Rowland. "We were so impressed that in the middle of her

work on that project she could devote five days to showing us Leningrad."

Rowland also noted that many of the women they met were very influential: "Members of the Soviet women's committees are often more powerful than we are. Some of them are members of the Supreme Soviet."

Beth Wilson of Paullina, Iowa, who was interviewed in the November/December issue of *Nuclear Times*, was also on the tour. She visited Soviet Georgia near the Black Sea. One of the highlights of her trip was a visit to a farm near Tbilisi. "I was interested in how similar a pork product farm was in Iowa and the Soviet Union," she said. "There were about the same number of pigs weaned. They're more mechanized than we are. I had an hour there, but I could have spent the whole day."

For most of the women on the trip, it was a "once in a lifetime experience." They travelled to a foreign country and were able to see not only the tourist attractions like the Kremlin, but also the towns and villages and people of the Soviet Union. They view these exchanges as a way to break down people's fears and stereotypes in both countries.

"We will go back to our communities and encourage people to realize that there is an alternative to the buildup of nuclear weapons," Bumpers said. "We can live on this planet together. We can elect, select and encourage leadership in this country that will move us in that direction. None of us is ordinary; we're superior women. We've taken on this task without any expertise in the balance of power, but with a humane perspective. We want to build a better world."

Peace Links has a kit on U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations called "Understanding the Soviets." For information contact the group at 747 Eighth St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 544-0805.

WAND

Women, Democracy and Disarmament

Just after the Iowa caucuses and before Super Tuesday on March 8, WAND activists from every corner of the country will meet in Los Angeles for three days of intensive skill building, networking and strategy development. The 1988 WAND Membership Conference, "Women, Democracy and Disarmament," will be held at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles, February 25-27, 1988. At the conference WAND will kick off its action plan for grassroots and legislative activities for the critical 1988

election year.

"The timing of our national conference is no coincidence—we're already planning for our involvement in the 1988 elections," said WAND Executive Director Calien Lewis. "We're a national peace organization with a strong grassroots presence. WAND affiliate groups and individual members have effectively contributed time and money to federal elections since 1984."

"This will be the third election cycle for scores of WAND groups," Lewis continued. "They are seasoned political activists looking forward to the challenges and opportunities of '88. And from those WAND groups not previously active in electoral politics, the word is 'We're ready!'"

The conference will begin on Thursday evening, February 25, with a retrospective look at women's contribution to nuclear disarmament in the United States. The event will be hosted by actress Jane Alexander and author Sheila Tobias. The opening plenary session on Friday, "Focus on '88," will examine the opportunities ahead for grassroots activists in the coming presidential election year.

Drs. Helen and Bill Caldicott will both speak at the conference. This will be Helen Caldicott's first major U.S. speech since stepping back from her active role in the peace movement two years ago. A banquet dinner will feature Margarita Papandreou of Greece. Other distinguished guest speakers will include Randall Forsberg of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, Dr. Robert Bowman of the Institute for Space and Security Studies and Dr. Seymour Melman of Columbia University.

Issue and movement experts will present skill development sessions and issue education forums. There will also be workshops offered in electoral and lobbying skills, organizational planning, media, fundraising, and membership recruiting.

"In 1986 women made a difference—53 percent of women voters chose pro-arms-control candidates for the Senate," Lewis said. "In 10 Senate races women were the 'margin of victory,' electing senators committed to reversing the nuclear arms race. WAND wants to build on these successes in '88. We want to further strengthen Congress and elect a president who will take dramatic initiatives to support nuclear weapons reduction and invest in real national security through educational, health and environmental programs."

"*Women, Democracy, and Disarmament*" is open to the public. For more information contact: WAND, 691 Massachusetts Ave, Arlington, MA 02174, (617) 643-4880.

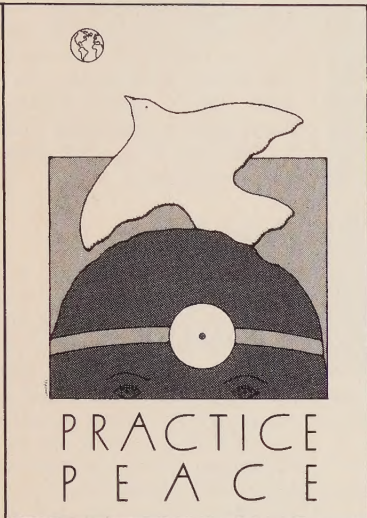
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January

12 San Francisco. "Modern Media—Myth and Reality" will be discussed by Doug Foster, Chellis Glendinning and Herbert Chao Gunther at the 3220 Gallery at 7:00 p.m. Sponsored by "The Green Dialogues," which explores visions of alternative futures. *Call:* (415) 845-4595.

15 to 19, Las Vegas, Nevada. International Scientific Symposium on a Nuclear Test Ban. Experts will evaluate the prospects for an end to underground testing. Preceding the symposium, on January 15, the U.S. Department of Energy will host a tour of the Nevada test site. For information, *contact:* Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 800, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 939-5750.

29 to 31, Atlanta, Georgia. American Friends Service Committee seminar "East-West Issues Including North-South Concerns" will be held at the Lanier Plaza Hotel and Conference Center. The seminar will focus on minorities' and women's perspectives. For reservations *call:* Michael Simmons, AFSC, (215) 241-7188.

February

1 Minneapolis. "Education—Equality and Quality," a talk by Chuck Ritchie will be presented at 7:30 at the Uptown YWCA, 28th and Hennepin. This is a feature of a seven-part study series called "The Soviet Union—a Fresh Look." For more information *call* Peace Links at (612) 377-7725.

7 to April 3, on PBS TV stations. "How Then Shall We Live?" a nine-part series on consciousness, politics and human survival featuring Helen Caldicott, Stephen Levine and a dialogue between Daniel Ellsberg and Baba Ram Dass. *Contact:* Original Face Video, 6116 Merced Ave., #165, Oakland, CA 94611, (415) 339-3126.

19 to 21, Indialantic, Florida. "Make Space for Peace," a national conference on alternatives to the militarization of space



Dr. Helen Caldicott, former president of Physicians for Social Responsibility, will address the Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament 1988 membership conference in Los Angeles on February 25 at the Biltmore Hotel.

will be held at the Holiday Inn Oceanfront, close to Cape Canaveral. *Contact:* Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice, Box 2486 Orlando, FL 32802, (305) 422-3479.

25 to 27, Los Angeles. "Woman, Disarmament and Democracy," the Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) 1988 membership conference will be held at the Biltmore Hotel. The conference opens with a tribute to key woman leaders of the disarmament movement, which incorporates an audio visual retrospective of their contributions over the last 25 years. Drs. Helen and Bill Caldicott will address the conference, and Madame Papandreou of Greece will be a featured speaker. For more information *call:* Corinne Ewald at (617) 643-4740.

March

3 to 5, Washington, D.C. Physicians for Social Responsibility National Meeting at the Omni Shoreham Hotel. The theme will be "The Great Debate: Choices about Nuclear Weapons in 1988." The 1988 PSR Award will be presented to noted diplomat and historian George F. Kennan. *Call:* (202) 939-5750.

7 Minneapolis. Dr. Nicholas Hayes will speak on "Culture and the Arts in Gorbachev's

USSR," 7:30 p.m. at the Uptown YMCA, as a part of "The Soviet Union—a Fresh Look" series. For more information *call:* Peace Links at (612) 377-7725.

8 San Francisco. David Brower, Ernest Callenbach and Charlene Spretnak will discuss "What can the Green Movement Learn from Three Decades of Environmental and Social Change Organizing," 7:00 p.m. at the 3220 Gallery. For reservations *call* (415) 845-4595. Sponsored by the Green Dialogues.

11 to 20, Mercury, Nevada. The American Peace Test is in the process of organizing the first occupation of the occupation of the U.S. nuclear weapons test site. The movement to end testing needs your participation. Demonstrators will occupy the test site for 10 days. For information *contact* the Clearinghouse of the American Peace Test. *Call* (503) 371-8002 or *write* The American Peace Test, 333 State St., Salem, OR 97301.

19 on cable TV. "How Are We To Live With The Soviets?" A Beyond War live report from Washington, D.C., featuring the Soviet and American authors of the new book *Breakthroughs*. Via live satellite feed on cable access TV. *Contact:* Ed Kyser, Beyond War, 222 High St., Palo Alto, CA 94301, (415) 328-7756.

April

1 to 15, Buenos Aires, Argentina. International Symposium on Scientists, Peace and Disarmament, at the University of Buenos Aires. For more information, *contact:* Sec. de Extension Universitaria-Pab.II, Cdad. Universitaria, Tel. 783-3099, TELEX: 18694 IBUBA AR; Postal Address: Astrofisica CECEN, C.C.No.8-Suc.25, 1425-Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Ongoing

Quest for Peace Writing Contest, sponsored by Citizen Action for Peace Project. The contest is intended to stimulate careful thinking and citizen action on a critical issue before our democracy: the achievement of a more enduring peace in the nuclear age. For further contest information *write:* Citizen Education For Peace Project, P.O. Box 6021, Irvine, CA. 92716-6021.

Chicago. The Peace Museum. Through January 31, 1988, the museum will feature the exhibition "Play Fair," a brand new multi-media exhibition for young people that focuses on cooperation, communication and conflict resolution. Opening in February will be *Highlights from the permanent collection*, a recap of the many peace exhibits of the last seven years. The Peace Museum is open 12:00 to 5:00 Tuesday through Sunday, and 12:00 to 8:00 on Thursday. *Contact:* (312) 440-1860.

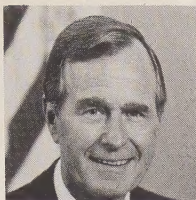
Nevada Test Site. In March, the site's fence will be festooned with handprints from people all over the world who believe nuclear testing must stop. Coordinated by Heal/Act/Nuture/Defend (HAND) and co-sponsored by The Rocky Mountain Peace Center. *Send* your handprint by February 20, 1988 to HAND, 2119 Pine Street, Boulder, CO 80302.

Information Hotlines: Nuclear legislation (202) 546-0408; Central America Legislation (202) 546-0664; Nicaragua (202) 332-9230; South Africa (202) 546-0804; nuclear tests (702) 363-7880; peace and justice issues (202) 547-4343.

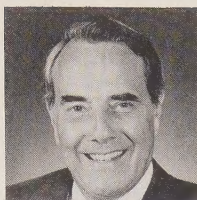
Compiled by Bruce Durward, an intern at Nuclear Times.



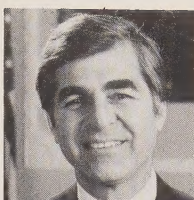
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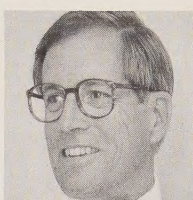
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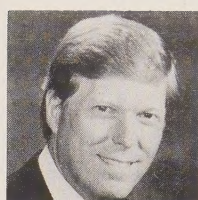
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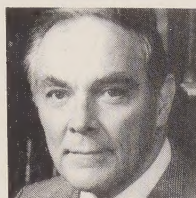
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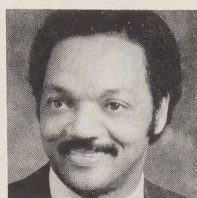
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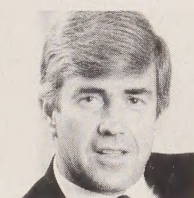
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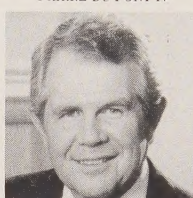
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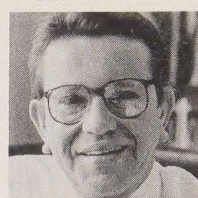
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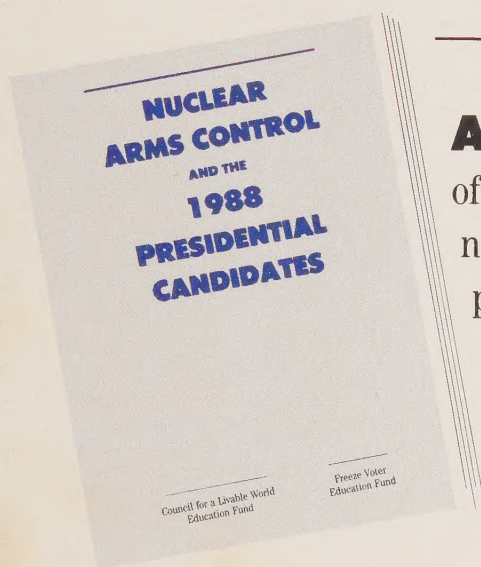


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QUEST FOR PEACE WRITING CONTEST

—THE CONTEST—

The Citizen Education for Peace Project at the University of California, Irvine is proud to announce the QUEST FOR PEACE WRITING CONTEST. The contest is intended to stimulate careful thinking and citizen action on a critical issue before our democracy: the achievement of a more enduring peace in the nuclear age.

—ENTERING THE CONTEST—

To enter the contest, the entrant must write and send a letter to a candidate for President of the United States of his or her choice, spelling out what actions a U.S. President should take both domestically and internationally to enhance prospects for lasting world peace.

A copy of the letter sent to Citizen Education for Peace Project along with a statement of when and where the entrant viewed the QUEST FOR PEACE BROADCAST SERIES shall constitute entry into the contest.

The QUEST FOR PEACE BROADCAST SERIES is a selection of ten videotaped interviews from the one hundred program QUEST FOR PEACE Series. The Broadcast Series includes twenty-nine minute interviews with Helen Caldicott, M.D., Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Linda Smith, Leonard I. Beerman, Sheila Tobias, Harold Willens, Karen Mulhauser, Robert F. Drinan, S.J., and Elise Boulding. Common themes in the interviews are that the nuclear threat to humankind must be addressed urgently, and that an informed citizenry in a democracy can make a decisive difference in transcending current problems. These ten interviews are available at no cost to the sponsoring institution, group or individual for broadcast on local cable or public television.

—ELIGIBILITY AND OTHER RULES—

The QUEST FOR PEACE WRITING CONTEST is open to individuals of all ages who have watched some part of the Quest for Peace Broadcast Series. Faculty, staff and students (and immediate families) of the University of California, Irvine are not eligible to enter the Contest.

Entries will be judged upon their innovative and creative content, with the decision of the judges to be final. The judges for the QUEST FOR PEACE WRITING CONTEST shall include the faculty, staff, students and others in the Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of California, Irvine.

There are two competitions

Entries must be postmarked by June 1, 1988 or November 1, 1988, and addressed to:

CITIZEN EDUCATION FOR PEACE PROJECT
P.O. Box 6021

Irvine, California 92716-6021

—PRIZES AND AWARDS EACH CONTEST—

GRAND PRIZE \$5,000

Second Prize	\$2,000	Third Prize	\$1,000
Fourth Prize	\$1,000	Fifth Prize	\$250
Sixth-Tenth (5)	\$100	11th-15th (5)	\$50
16th-50th (35)	\$20	51st-100th	Certificate

Winners will be notified within two months of the closing date.

All entries will become the property of the Citizen Education for Peace Project.